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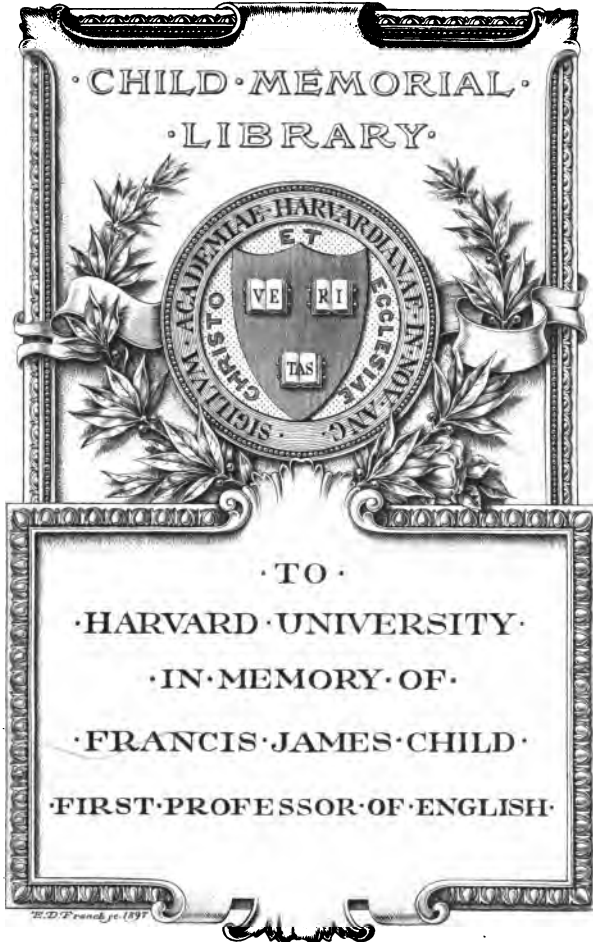
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JUDITH

STUDIES IN METRE, LANGUAGE AND STYLE,

WITH A VIEW

TO DETERMINING THE DATE OF THE OLDENGLISH
FRAGMENT AND THE HOME OF ITS AUTHOR.

INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION

ZUR ERLANGUNG

DER PHILOSOPHISCHEN DOCTORWÜRDE

AN DER

KAISER-WILHELMS-UNIVERSITÄT ZU STRASSBURG

EINGEREICHT VON

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INTRODUCTION.

Scanty as the remains of Old English poetry are, yet scantier still is the information concerning them that contemporary and immediately following ages have left us. Of the authors, their lives and works, as well as of the exact times in which they worked and flourished, we know next to nothing. With two or three names of poets and some few notions of the subjects of their singing, historians of the literature of the Old English period have had to conjure. These generalities can have no better illustration than is afforded by the critical history of the epic fragment 'Judith'. To deal carefully with the various questions that arise from a study of this fragment is the object of the pages that follow; it will be best introduced by a review of the most important contributions to the subject by previous scholars and critics.

The 'Judith' is preserved in the Cotton Manuscript (Vitellius A xv British Museum) and follows the Beowulf, being written by the same hand as the latter part of the MS. of that poem. Earlier criticism, of which George Stephens is the chief exponent, guided entirely by the long lines which were then thought to be especially Cædmonian, attributes Judith, together with a large number of the other poems we possess, to Cædmon. Hammerich again, solely on the strength of the somewhat vague information given by Beda in his Hist. Eccl., ascribes Judith to Cædmon. The greater finish of the poem, when compared especially with the Genesis, he urges, is simply due to the subject matter. With the destruction of

the Junian theory¹ in regard to Cædmon, which gave all the poems in the manuscript Junius (Bod. Lib. Oxon) to the poet of that name, Hammerich's naturally goes too, but the connection of this poem with the other biblical ones is preserved by Wülker's classification of all under the heading "Cædmon und sein Kreis".

Grein mentions Judith in connection with the poems of the Junian Manuscript, but only connects it with them as being 'ein anderes alttestamentliches Epos' and goes no further than to praise its beauty.

Thus then the earliest critics of our fragment have placed it almost at the beginning of the Old English literary period; for Caedmon died in c. 680. When from Caedmon we extend our limits to "Caedmon und sein Kreis", the limit of time would be difficult to fix; but "Christ and Satan", probably the latest of the poems edited by Junius, is hardly later than the end of the ninth, or the beginning of the tenth century.¹ In this connection, it is necessary to quote ten Brink's² view: „Das grosse, eigentlich productive Zeitalter der altenglischen, geistlichen Dichtung dürfte durch die Jahre 650—800 oder 825 zu begrenzen sein. Die Mehrzahl der betrachteten Denkmäler sind vermutlich im achten oder im Anfang des folgenden Jahrhunderts entstanden, so die Exodus, der Daniel, die Judith“. If Ebert, the only one of the later critics of our fragment who places it in Caedmonian times, had read this paragraph with the proofs which ten Brink brings forward in the pages of his *Gesch. der engl. Litt.* immediately following it, he would have seen that with his estimation³ of Judith it would be just as reasonable to

¹ cf. ten Brink, *Geschichte der eng. Litt.* Bd. I p. 109 ff. (Groschopp has hardly proved his point in attributing the work to Cædmon, cf. pp. 19 und 20 in his dissertation „Crist und Satan“).

² cf. ten Brink, *Gesch. der engl. Litt.* Bd. I p. 64.

³ (*Allgem. Geschichte d. Litt. des Mittelalt.* Bd. III p. 26) Ebert's words are: „Dies ist ohne Zweifel das gelungenste der uns aus dieser Periode (die letzten Decennien des siebenten Jahrhunderts p. 11) erhaltenen angelsächsischen Gedichte, welche alttestamentliche Stoffe behandeln“. And in a foot note to this paragraph he adds „Wie über-

place it in the eighth or ninth century as in the seventh. For his view he gives no real ground and seems by twice mentioning it (pp. 24, 26) to lay great stress on the „alt-testamentliche Stoffe“.

Among other recent workers at Old English who have considered Judith and its place in the history of Literature we must mention Groth¹ and Kluge².

Each of them has applied what may well be described as a mechanical test. Groth, whose object is to show to what time the 'Exodus' is to be ascribed, applies to Judith two out of the five tests which Lichtenheld³ formulates in his treatise „Das schwache Adjektiv im Angelsächsischen“. According to Groth's use of the article test (i. e. the number of times the article is used) Judith must chronologically be placed with the Battle of Maldon or rather later; for as we shall see the total usage is greater in Judith. The second test applied by Groth to Judith, but only mentioned in a foot-note (p. 38), viz. the number of times the weak adjective is found with the article prefixed, gives, he urges, remarkable results. In this case he does not compare it with other poems, and accordingly omits the number of occurrences of weak adj. + subst. or weak adj. without article⁴. We shall apply all Lichtenheld's tests in our sections on the use of pronominal forms and the Instrumental case; so that here it will be sufficient to say that no such partial test can with any certainty determine the date of a poem, nor is it fair to take a portion only of Lichtenheld's results. Kluge counts the number of times in which rime occurs in Judith, and finds

haupt⁴, which words seem to serve him as a general means of rejecting Kluge's view based on the number of rimes.

¹ E. J. Groth, *Composition und Alter der altengl. (angelsächs.) Exodus*. Diss. Göttingen 1883.

² F. Kluge, *Zur Geschichte des Reimes im Altgermanischen*. P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. IX p. 422.

³ Lichtenheld, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*. Bd. XVI p. 325 ff.

⁴ Groth (p. 38) does not apply the Instrumental test to Judith, but confines himself therein to the Battle of Maldon, and Exodus.

that in this respect also the result given by Groth is endorsed, and gives as a chronological sequence, according to the rime test: — Beow-Andr-Byrhtn-Jud. — indicating (p. 445) that Judith at any rate was written before 1036. Thus, the poem of which our fragment is a part would have to be placed between the year 991 (the earliest possible date for the Byrhtnoð or Battle of Maldon) and 1036 (the date of the chronicle poem on the death of prince Ælfred). To this theory of Kluge's we shall revert in the section dealing with rime. The second-quarter of the eleventh century then is the latest date given to Judith; a similar limit was set for it by Dietrich¹, but with the inclination to put it earlier². In his researches³ into the history of the life and writings of Ælfric, Dietrich quotes the passage from the work „De veteri et de novo Testamento“ in which the book of Judith is said to be „on Englisc on ðre wisan gesett“ and identifies the English version referred to with the epos 'Judith'. Dietrich bases his argument on the fact that in other cases Ælfric says explicitly „ic ðwende (or onwende) on Englisc“. Assman⁴, on the other hand, draws particular attention to the words „on ðre wisan“, pointing out that the manner of our poem does not accord with this statement, and further that he has been unable to trace any influence of the 'epos' Judith in the Homily dealing with the same story, which he wishes to show was written by Ælfric.

A comparison of the Homily with our poem shows that

¹ Eduard (Franz) Dietrich, *Nieders Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*. Jahrgänge 1855, 56.

² Dietrich's argument is not clear unless we conjecture a misprint viz. „10 Jahrhundert“ for „11. Jahrhundert“: he believes Ælfric wrote his Preface to the Old and New Testament at the end of the 10th century, or just before beginning of the 11th, and argues, the Epic Judith was known to Ælfric, therefore Judith was written at all events before the 10th century. This hardly follows: we must read 11th century. For similar mistakes or misprints in Dietrich's treatise cf. Assmann, *Über Esther*. Diss. p. 15.

³ *N. Z. f. hist. Theol.* Jahrgang 1856 p. 179.

⁴ Assmann, Abt Aelfric's angelsächsische Homilie über das Buch Judith. *Anglia* Bd. X p. 76.

there are similarities in word and phrase usage; these are few in number it is true, but still, for the most part, both words and phrases are such as rarely occur in what is left to us of Old English Literature. I am therefore inclined to believe our poem was known to Ælfric, although the words „on ðre wisan“ seem to exclude the possibility of his actually referring to it. Between the dates assigned to our poem by its earlier and later critics there is then a difference of 300 years. Its latest editor and critic — Albert Cook ¹ — takes the mean way, and would fix the date of composition as „in or about the year 856“. His theory is (Introd. p. XXIX): „The poem of Judith was composed, in or about the year 856, in gratitude for the deliverance of Wessex from the fury of the heathen Northmen, and dedicated, at once as epinikion and epithalamion, to the adopted daughter of England, the pride, the hope, the darling of the nation“. This „adopted daughter“ is the great granddaughter of Charlemagne, daughter of Charles the Bald, she whom Æthelwulf brought home as his second queen, in the year 856, on his return from Rome. Her name was Judith. In the year in which she came to England, Prof. Cook tells us, and for eight years following the Northmen ceased to harry England. The Northmen, then, are the Assyrians, the English the Hebrews and Judith their deliverer. Such is the occasion of our poem according to Prof. Cook. The ten pages (Introd. XXIV—XXXIV) of interesting historical facts mixed with ingenious conjecture bring little to support his theory. When we hear that the „subject of Judith was a popular one among the poets of that reign, most probably because the Danes . . . were supposed to be prefigured by the Assyrians“ we expect some further proof than that afforded by a single fragment of a Latin poem² of which the date is not with any certainty known, whose narrative, as preserved to us, does not ex-

¹ Judith, an Old English Epic Fragment. Edited with Introduction etc. by Albert S. Cook 2nd Edition. Boston, 1889.

² cf. Ed. du Ménil, Poésies populaires latines antérieures au XII^e siècle. Paris 1843 p. 184.

tend further than the sending of Achior bound to Bitulia and thus makes no mention of Judith. The quotation from Asser¹ (Introd. XXIX) hardly testifies to great enthusiasm on the part of the nation in regard to Judith, for we learn: „and he placed Judith . . . on the regal throne, without any controversy or enmity from his nobles, even to the end of his life, contrary to the perverse custom of that nation“. This is surely little whereon to base the epithets „the pride, the hope, the darling of the nation“. Prof. Cook goes further and names Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, as the author of the „Epithalamion“. The above are, as I understand him, the most important facts that support his theory.

If however we look a little closer, we shall be inclined to think that the identity of name has been allowed to warp Prof. Cook's judgment rather more than such a minutia should. In the first place the Saxon Chronicle² tells us distinctly that it was in the year 855, that the Danes were in England, in Sheppey, and that in this year Æthelwulf went to Rome, where he dwelt twelve months and then went homewards: and then Karl, the king of the Franks, gave him his daughter for queen, and after that he came to his people and they were glad at it. From this entry it is clear that more than a year elapsed between the king's departure and his return³: so that more than a year must have intervened between the wintering of the Danes in Sheppey and Judith's coming to England. Not till 860 does the Chronicle tell us of more ravages, and then a small inroad was made

¹ The questionable authenticity of Asser's work is not taken into account.

² The Parker MS reads as follows:

„And þý ilcan geære [855] ferde tō Rome mid micelre weorpnese and þær wæs XII mōnaþ wuniende and þā him hām weard fōr and him þā Carl Francna cyning his dohtor geaf him to cuene and æfter þām to his lēodum cuōm and hīe þæs ge fægene wærun“.

The Laud MS has in respect to his marriage and return, only:

„and he fēng tō Karles dohter Francna cining þā he hāmweard wæs. and ge sund hām cōm.“

³ The marriage did not take place till Oct. 1st 856.

at Winchester: but in 865 and 866 the Danes came again. It is, then, hardly correct to say that the Danes withdrew in the year of Judith's coming. Further the enthusiasm, for which Cook calls the Chronicle in evidence, is but sparsely, if at all expressed in the words „and hê pæs gefægene wærun“: moreover, if I am not very much mistaken, ‘pæs’ refers to the return home of the king. There is then no expression of joy at the marriage. On the contrary, the king was met with opposition and rebellion from his son Æthelbald, supported by the warrior bishop Ealchstan, who had done the king signal service at the battle of the Parret. Noticeable moreover is the conclusion to which the historian Lappenberg comes; after an examination of the various sources, he writes (p. 296)¹: „Viel Missfallen erregte es bei seinem Volke, dass er seiner Gemahlin ein Diadem aufsetzte und ihr den Namen der Königin ertheilte, welcher Titel durch Eadburge, Brithrics Wittwe, bei jenem sehr verhasst geworden war. Nach so manchen Handlungen, durch welche die Rechte seiner ältern Kinder und der Mutter sehr beeinträchtigt wurden, darf es nicht überraschen, wenn Æthelwulf in seiner Heimat nicht eine willkommene Aufnahme fand“. Add to all this the a priori objection to a possible comparison of the new queen with the Hebrew Judith, (I mean the fact that she was scarcely thirteen years old), and sufficient has been said to show the improbability of Cook's suggestion. At all events to name her „the pride, the hope, the darling of the nation“ is absurd, and the only possibility left is to suppose that some great admirer, contrary to the general feeling of the nation, wrote this epithalamion for a child of twelve.

The suggestion that Judith was written at the time of the Danish invasions, is one coloured with strong probabilities and was made by Thwaites², the first editor of the poem, in his address to the Reader: „Judith fragmentum, scriptum quo tempore Dani apud nos grassarentur“. The thought that

¹ cf. also Reinhold Pauli, König Ælfred, und seine Stelle in der Gesch. Englands. Berlin, 1851, p. 75 ff.

² Ed. Thwaites, *Heptateuchus etc. Anglo-Saxonice, Historiæ Judith fragmentum; Dano-Saxonice, MDCXCVIII.*

the deeds of a woman brought the old Hebrew story to the poet's mind and inspired him to sing it, is not unlikely, if, as I think possible, a heroine can be found who will suit other indications of date, and about whom there are plain historic facts preserved. To this point our considerations will lead us in the last section. In all this it must be remembered that Prof. Cook's is but a theory, a hypothesis, and while showing the improbability of his I shall venture to suggest another. Great stress I do not lay upon it, because the poet may have been prompted by nothing more than a desire to glorify God.

Whether the story was brought to our poet's recollection by a contemporary heroine or not, of this we may be sure, that he used it because he saw in it not only material for a good poem, but a means whereby he could glorify God through his handmaid, for he calls her „Scyppendes mægð“ (l. 78) and ‘péodnes mægð’ (l. 165), and all through emphasises that what she accomplished was „þurh Godes fultum“ (186) or „swâ hyre God ûðe“ (123).

Let us now turn to Prof. Cook's principal theory, the last which we shall have to examine. The results of the metrical and stylistic investigations in the following pages lead to almost exactly similar conclusions, so it will be sufficient to shortly indicate them together with the considerations that support them.

First, the poem is Cynewulfian rather than Cædmonian and is „either by Cynewulf or by some one of his disciples or successors“. Proof of this is afforded by verbal correspondences in Judith and the Cynewulf poems and also by similarity of description in the battle scenes in Judith and Elene.

Secondly. The older Genesis (Gen. A) and the Exodus were undoubtedly known to the author: the later Genesis (Gen. B) shows an almost total lack of correspondences; this „might indicate that the latter was of subsequent composition, though this hypothesis is not absolutely necessary“.

Thirdly. Judith is to be dated „not earlier than Cynewulf, and not later than the year 937“. In or soon after 937 the poem on the Battle of Brunanburh was written and

partial identity of lines indicates that one served as a model for the other. Which was the model? This Prof. Cook determines by urging that the religious spirit of Judith belongs to an age previous to 937; assuming then that the poems „reflect the spirit of the epochs in which they were reproduced“ Judith must be the earlier of the two. The spirit of a poem is, together with the manner of representation, of course a good criterion for its date; but to glorify God, at once the simplest and the highest religious desire, would be the motive of a pious man of any age, and we should expect it in any author, who was of the clerical profession. In the Homily on Judith, Ælfric has the same thought (l. 407)¹: — „On hyre (Judith) wæs gefilled pæs hælendas cwyde“, and (l. 422) „þam folce ætēowde, hū hyre fylste god“.

So much is enough to state and criticise, as far as is here in place, the answers that have hitherto been given to the questions connected with Judith.

In the pages that follow I have endeavoured to make the best use of what has been written on Judith and O. E. Literature generally. After so careful and valuable an edition as Prof. Cook's it was inevitable that some of his points should be repeated; in borrowing from him or from others endeavour has been made to duly acknowledge it at the foot of the page. Most of my notes on Metre were made before Prof. Cook's book came to hand, but I have given the parallel passages in his Introduction in the majority of cases.

Our poem has been criticised from an æsthetic point of view by Editors and Historians of Literature; all are agreed that the poetic art shown therein is of no mean order².

It is in fact a dramatic Epic. Epic in the lingering and minute description of smaller events, in the heroic figure

¹ Of course the Homily contains other moral lessons.

² cf. ten Brink, (Gesch. der Eng. Litt. Bd. I p. 59): „Sämtliche geistliche Epiker jener Zeit überragt an Kunst der Komposition der Dichter der Judith“. cf. Benj. Thorpe (Anal. Anglosax. p. X): „This fragment leads us to form a very high idea of the poetic powers of our forefathers“. Cook collects the „Testimonies“ on pp. LXXV—LXXVIII of his introduction.

of Judith watched over, guarded and helped by the mighty power of God; Drama, fragment though it be, in the balancing and apparently motived completeness of its story, approaching, yet distantly, tragedy as it fills us with anxious sympathy for the safety and success of the woman through whom the Assyrians are put to flight.

The question concerning the Home of the author of Judith has not till now received full attention; but as we shall see there are a few indications in the poem, and they will be carefully enumerated. Sweet, giving as his reasons the combination of the highest dramatic and constructive power with the utmost brilliance of language and metre, places Judith at the culminating point of the Old Northumbrian Literature.

Cook merely says — „the mixture of dialectic forms seems to indicate that a Northern original passed through one or more hands“ — and at the end of his book he gives a careful version of Judith in the Dialect of the Northumbrian Gospels.

In the following treatise the Judith will be studied under the three main heads of Metric, Language, Diction and Style.

To begin with, Metre will be dealt with from the purely formal point of view; thus, alliteration in its various relations, on the lines of Rieger's treatise, will be investigated and the position of our poem, relatively to the older and later poems¹, made clear.

Following that, comes an investigation of End-rime, its relations to the subject-matter, and a testing of Kluge's rime results.

Next the expanded lines, their form as compared with others of similar form, especially those in the Rood-poem, their force or purpose, are specially investigated: thus again we are driven to consider the relation of form to matter, or in other words to consider style.

¹ Throughout, the relation between Judith and the Battle of Maldon is closely considered. In speaking of Christ and Satan, I adopt ten Brink's division into three parts.

In this connection the manner of indicating verse-ending and verse-pause, both in expanded and normal verses is discussed.

With Sievers' thorough investigation of the metre of Beowulf, and the like work for Judith by Luick, it seemed practical for the sake of metrical comparisons to use Sievers' terminology and system, which, though mechanical and in no way representing the conception that the O. E. poets must have had of their metrical forms, yet as a rule gives a correct idea of the prosody of each line. I should have preferred to follow ten Brink's system, if this had been already in print.

At the end of the part dealing with Metric, textual emendations from a metrical and stylistic standpoint are suggested.

In the second part, traces of dialectical forms are collected and discussed, with the view of solving the difficult question as to the Home of our Poet.

After that, a short statement of the relations of the use of 'a' und 'o' before nasals is given.

Lichtenheld's tests, relating to the use of pronominal forms and of the instrumental case, are then thoroughly tested, and a closer determination of the use and non-use of the article, as well as of those of the demonstrative and possessive adjective-pronouns is attempted.

The third part treats of Synonyms, Compounds, Sentence-form and Figures of Speech. The first two lead so clearly to similarities with Cynewulf, that the purely stylistical part is necessarily large owing to further comparison with his works.

In the appendices, matters that could not well find a place in the main text, are dealt with; thus, the details necessary for showing that our poet drew his story from the Vulgate and not from the Septuagint, to which reference is made in our conclusions, are to be found in the first appendix. Lastly the results are brought together, and the possible connection of the poem with historical events is fully dealt with, in the attempt to answer the following questions:

(1). What are the limits of time that comparison with other poems and other results set for our poem?

(2). Are there indications of the Home of our Poet?

(3). Are there any historical events, or historical personages, that could reasonably have occasioned our poem?

(4). What is the relation of the story in the poem to that in the Vulgate? Is the story in our fragment a complete one?

(5). What is the position of our poet, as compared with other O. E. poets, in point of style?

It has seemed to me better to work out the various points under their respective heads, and then draw the issues together, than to attempt at once an answer to the direct points of inquiry.

I. M E T R I C.

Of all the monuments of Old English verse handed down to us, the *Beowulf* and the poems certainly *Cynewulf's* preserve the alliterative long line in its purest and best form. Dissensions among the English petty states, together with the consequent inroads of the Northmen, destroyed the culture and learning which had flourished chiefly in the Anglian kingdoms. With the culture, the art of song decayed and towards the end of the tenth century, we find the forcible long-lined alliterative poetry, on the one hand, being broken up by the introduction of the leonine rime, and, on the other, being transformed, as in many of the writings of *Ælfric*, into a sort of rhythmical and alliterative prose. The best period of Old-English poetry ends in the early decades of the ninth century, and the poets of after years, for the most part in the midst of strife and unrest, endeavour, but with a continually increasing disregard of alliterative principles, to keep the national song alive.

These alliterative principles have been carefully formulated for us by *Rieger*¹, so that here we shall only briefly indicate them in order to make the relation of our poem to them clear.

¹ *Max Rieger*, *Die alt- und angel-sächsische Verskunst*. *Zacher's Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* Bd. VII. It is also published separately.

A. ALLITERATION.

1. DISTRIBUTION AND NUMBER OF RIME-LETTERS.

By the first of the two most general rules¹ for the alliterative long line, the chief letter, i. e. the one rime-letter of the second half-line, must occur as 'initial' of the first chief-stressed syllable in that half-line. This rule, observed exactly throughout the *Beowulf*, is only once disregarded in the three *Cynewulfian* poems (*El.* 580), and that in a line almost certainly corrupt, but four times in our poem:

Judith 200. cēnra tō campe, stōpon cynerōfe.

" 212. hyrnednebbā . Stōpon heaðorincas.

" 243. cȳðan eodon, wrehton cumbolwigan.

That these lines are rightly scanned with the chief stress on „stōpon“, „wrehton“, is confirmed by the freedom (p. 20), which our poet allows himself in the second half-verse with regard to the subordination of verb to substantive².

The fourth example (*l.* 273) „eades and ellendæda. Hogedon þā eorlas“ is really an example of like kind, but the easiness of transposition has suggested to Rieger and Sweet the reading „þā eorlas hogedon“. This however gives a half-line of a form³ seldom, if ever, found. From this, the chief rule of the alliterative poetry, no one poem shows many deviations: — the *Later Genesis* two (370, 513): the *Fallen Angels*⁴ five (57, 152, 227, 313, 331), of these the first disregards the rule that in the combination 'adj + subst' the adjective bears the alliteration, the other four are almost certainly

¹ cf. Rieger pp. 6 and 7 (*Separat Abdruck*).

² cf. also *Jud.* 227. Stōpon styrmōde.

Beow. 325. Setton sæmēde.

El. 35. fōr fyrda mæst.

" 27. fōr folca gedryht.

³ To use Sievers' notation, it would belong to typus D, its form being $\times | \angle \times | \angle \times$. *Beowulf* gives no exact parallel to this form.

⁴ The 2nd part of *Christ and Satan* one *l.* 464. This line may be read in two ways, but whichever one is adopted the rule is transgressed; if 's' is 'rime-letter' the verb 'sædon' alliterates in preference to the subs. 'witegan'.

corrupt readings. In the first part of Salomo there is one line (16) with chief letter as initial of the second chief-stressed syllable and in the second part three (262, 340, 357): in l. 357 the word-accentuation is also incorrect. More than any of the above is the author of the Battle of Maldon found wanting: in ll. 45, 75, 288, 315 he puts the chief letter in the wrong place and in the first three cases violates the laws of accentuation¹.

By the first general rule the number of rime-letters in the second half-line is limited to one; by the second, the first half-line is free to have either two rime-letters or one. Occasionally lines are found which have two rime-letters in the second half and only one in the first. In other cases this deviation is probably due to the carelessness of the scribe, for the order can be inverted without harm to metre or meaning. Our poem affords one example:

Jud. 149 of þære ginnan byrig hire tōgænes gān². Here both half lines are of the same form, for 'byrig' is invariably monosyllabic³.

Of double alliteration in both half-lines Judith affords, according to Rieger⁴, only one certain example:

279. his goldgifan gæstes gēsne.

but to this we must certainly add the following:

291. wurpon hyra wæpen of dūne, gewitan him werig-ferhðe.

312. cwicera to cýððe; cirdon cynerôfe⁵.

Of the next variation to the general rules, viz. the use of 2 different rime-letters in one long-line, Judith gives numerous examples, generally in the crossed form a b a b, as indeed is

¹ cf. Rieger p. 7.

² Rieger, Sweet (Reader) and Cook print the line inverted.

³ cf. Sievers, P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. X p. 478.

⁴ cf. Rieger p. 9.

⁵ Luick, P. u. B. Bd. XI p. 476 reads the line thus:

cwicera to cýððe; cirdon cynerôfe

Further his remark „Doppel-Alliteration in diesem Halbvers ist in der Judith unerhört“ is hardly correct.

to be expected, for the first alliterative syllable of both half-lines is more strongly accented than the second¹.

- Judith 83: Ic ðē frymða God, and frōfre Gæst.
 „ 85: Miltse þīnre mē þearfendre
 „ 112: gēsne beæftan, gæst ellor hwearf
 „ 137 þære wlitegan byrig weallas blīcan
 „ 150: and hī ofostlice in forlætan
 „ 155: cyninga wuldor, þæt gecyðed weard
 „ 165: on gēan ðā þeodnes mægð þūsend mælum
 „ 173: þæs herewædan hæfod onwridan
 „ 215: eldeodigra edwit þoledon
 „ 235: cwicera manna þe hē ofercuman mihton
 „ 253: mægen Ebrēa. Mynton ealle
 „ 311: lāðan cynnes: lȳthwōn becōm
 „ 332: eal þæt þā deodguman þrymme geædon

The last mentioned is of the unusual form b a a b.

Thus in Judith there are 13 cases of twofold alliteration, a remarkably large number when compared with 68 in Beowulf, 15 in Christ, and with eight (24, 63, 68, 189, 255, 256, 318, 320) in the Battle of Maldon; the short poem on Battle of Brunanburh (73 lines) shows 5 examples (14, 33, 48, 50) of this elaborate, somewhat artificial form which in proportion to length is more than in Judith. It is noticeable that all these lines are emphatic: ll. 83, 85 stand at the commencement of a passage, l. 137 tells us of the arrival of Judith and her maid at the city of Bethulia and l. 150 of the haste of the citizens to let them in. In seven out of the thirteen usages (85, 137, 155, 235, 311: 165, 253) the emphasis is strengthened by the use of the secondary rime-letter as chief-letter in the following or previous line. A very skilful use of the secondary letter in ll. 85, 137, 156, 311 is noticeable. In these lines portions of sentences belonging very closely together are separated by the verse ending, but bound together by the use of the secondary letter of one line as chief-letter in the immediately following line: by this same means (235, 236) two sections are connected. A similar

¹ cf. Cook Introd. LXV and Rieger p. 5.

device is used by the poet in other lines, and for the same purpose: the initial letter of the last chief-stressed, but not alliterating, syllable of one line occurs as rime-letter in the next following line. Thus, in ll. 2, 39, 67, 90, 273, 289, 292, 298, the last words of a sentence forming a half-line are joined to what precedes, and in ll. 14, 15 two sentencees are joined. In other cases (29, 42, 72, 294) closely related portions of sentences are connected by this device. Occasionally, as in *Elene*, *Juliana*, and *Andreas*¹, the poet seems, by the same means, to compensate for the non-occurrence of three rime-letters. In the use of three rime-letters, *Judith* stands on the same level as *Beowulf*, each showing a percentage of 50². The freedom to use two rime-letters, or only one, in the first half-line is one that a poet would avail himself of more and more. This we see evidenced in *Cynewulf's* poems. In such a poem as the *Riming Song*, where form was undoubtedly of greater importance to the author than matter, we find 97 per cent of the lines have three rime-letters. In later poems, the use of three rime-letters gets less and less frequent. The *Battles of Brunanburh* and *Maldon* have three rime-letters in 47 and 44 per cent. of their lines respectively, while the *Psalms* have three in 20 per cent. only³. The first two parts of *Christ* and *Satan* show but slight difference in this respect. In the *Fallen Angels*,

¹ cf. A. Fritzsche, *Das ags. Ged. Andreas u. Cynewulf. Anglia*, Bd. II p. 468 etc.

² Out of 349 lines in *Judith*, 175 (more than 50%) have three rime-letters; of these 64 are expanded lines. Fritzsche gives the percentage in *Beowulf* as 50: in *Christ*, 55: in *Jul.*, 48²/₇: in *El.*, 48: in the *Riddles* 50¹/₂: in *An.* 52¹/₅: in the *Vision of the Cross* 60. The larger number of these are expanded lines.

³ Fritzsche says of his investigations dealing with the use of three rime-letters: „Es beweisen demnach diese Untersuchungen nur das eine, dass die Verse mit 3 Stäben mehr und mehr überhand nehmen“. Up to a certain point this is true. The poets, who lived immediately after the best age of O. E. poetry, probably endeavoured to write correctly, as far as form was concerned; but to those of later times, such as the authors of the *Battle of Maldon*, and the *Chronicle* poems, the old rules were in great part unknown, and the number of lines with three rime-letters is in consequence smaller.

47 per cent of the lines have three rime-letters; on the other hand, in the Descent into Hell and Resurrection only 40 per cent.

Judith, then, in respect to distribution and number of rime-letters, differs considerably from the better and earlier manner, and approximates to the inferior and later: in some particulars, there is an over-carefulness in form, which, although for the most part, motived by the subject-matter, produces a heavy effect, not noticeable in the best lines of Cynewulf.

2. ALLITERATION-ITS RELATION TO WORDS IN KIND AND PLACE.

Unlike the authors of the fallen Angels¹, and the Battle of Maldon², the author of Judith, in a combination of two or three nouns, regularly places the one with the rime-letter first. Throughout Beowulf, and the Cynewulf poems, the cardinal numbers are treated as adjectives, and, when they precede their substantives, always alliterate. This is the case with 'ân', even when it approaches in meaning the modern indefinite 'an' or 'a'³.

In Judith and in the second part of Salomo we find variety. Thus in Judith 325 („mægða mærost, ânes mônðes fyrst“), 'ânes', though preceding, does not alliterate, but in lines 64, 95, where 'ânre', 'ânra' are clearly numerical, they alliterate. The usage in Salomo is similar. In ll. 246, 254 non-alliterating indefinite forms occur, in ll. 363, 385, 391, 404 alliterating numerical forms. In the Battle of Maldon both forms alliterate in ll. 117, 262; the latter approaches the indefinite in meaning but is separated from its substantive by verb and verse-ending. The chronicle poems give no example. The Metra of Boethius⁴ and the Psalms indicate that the numeral 'an' was distinguished from the indefinite, for the former alliterates, but the latter does not.

In the use of the indefinite adj. 'eal', the author of Judith avails himself of the freedom to alliterate, or not, when

¹ cf. Christ and Satan ll. 7, 57, 213, 340.

² cf. B. of Maldon ll. 80, 183, 242, 266. In ll. 242 und 266 the second element of a compound alliterates and the first not.

³ cf. Gen. ll. 880, 1478, 2227 etc. Dan. l. 174. El. 417. An. ll. 1557, 1649.

⁴ cf. Metra 26²⁵, 30³⁹ (Num.): 10³⁸, 16¹² (Indef.). Psalms 101²¹, 108¹³ (Num.): 81⁷ (Indef.).

it precedes its noun. In the first half-line (10^a, 332^a) it invariably alliterates¹, but in the second the use is various (8^b, 16, 81^b; 28^b, 253^b).

In reading *Elene*², one notices that 'eal' seldom has any part in the alliteration. This seems to be the prevailing custom in the older poems, but in the *Battle of Maldon*³, with one exception (l. 174), 'eal' is treated as an ordinary adjective. and, when preceding its substantive, alliterates. In the chronicle poems, it regularly alliterates (cf. *Eadgar* 6: *Eadweard* 31). In both parts of *Christ and Satan* and of *Salomo and Saturn*, the cases of alliteration and non-alliteration are almost equal. The similar licence, that allowed such adjectives as 'manig', 'micele', 'feala', to stand before their substantives without alliterating, is one that the best poets seldom make use of⁴, and, when 'manig' is used absolutely, 'm' is invariably⁵ the rime-letter of the line.

When a substantive, or verbal noun occurs in the same half line with a finite verb, the verb is subordinated to it but can of course, in the first half line, alliterate with the substantive or verbal noun as the case may be.

This rule is observed without exception in *Judith*. Cook quotes 9^a „*girwan up swæsendo*“ as a violation of it, but 'girwan' is an Infinitive, in the Acc. and Inf. construction dependent on 'Gefrægn', and therefore, since it stands first, alliterates.

In the second half-line, the best poets allowed themselves freedom, and our poet did the same, but to a somewhat greater extent⁶. The following instances are noticeable:

¹ This is contrary to the usual custom: the cases in the first hemistich where 'eal' alliterates are rare in the certainly older poems: cf. *Dan.* l. 360, *Azar.* l. 76. Cf. ten Brink, — Zupitza, *Cynwulfs Elene* (Haupt Bd. XXIII Anzeiger p. 59).

² In *Elene* 'eal' alliterates in the first half line in ll. 731, 1101, 1118, 1236, 1285, but in all cases the immediately following substantive has an initial vowel, so that 'eal' is not preferred to its substantive by such alliteration.

³ cf. ll. 63, 196, 203, 207, 216, 231, 233, 238, 256, 304, 314, 320.

⁴ In *Elene* the only example of 'feala' not alliterating is 912: of 'manag' not alliterating, when preceding, there is no example.

⁵ cf. *Beowulf* 349, 857, 1023, 1598 etc. *Christ and Satan* 583. *El.* 501, 970 etc. ⁶ cf. Cook p. LXVIII.

1. *twéde gifena*
 183. *ȝcan wolde; ac him ne wíde God*
 204. *on ðæt dægred sylf; dýnedan scildas,*
 207. *wælgifre fugel: wistan bēgen*
 208. *þæt him ða þeodguman þōhton tilian*
 211. *salowigpāda sang hildeleōð*
 255. *in ðām wlitegan træfe wæron ætsqimne*
 260. *wið ða hālgan mægð hæfde geworden.*

Of these ll. 183, 204, 207 are rhetorically justifiable, but l. 208, where the Infinitive is subordinated to the verb, is not. Much less justifiable is the alliteration of a copulative verb (255) in preference to an adverb, and of an auxiliary (260) in preference to its participle.

In l. 29^b '*drēncte mid wīne*', l. 44^b '*rēste on symbel*' l. 72^b '*læddon to bedde*', ll. 209^b and 292^b '*flēah on lāst*', the last two words form an adverbial phrase, and so account for the subordination of the substantives¹.

Thus there are 13 lines in which the poet transgressed the law; of these, three seem rhetorically justifiable. If we add to these the four cases (p. 14), in which verbs bear the chief stress, but do not alliterate, we get a total of 17 lines transgressing the laws of accentuation, four of which, as we have seen, also transgress those of alliteration.²

In the Battle of Maldon, the following examples of verb-stressing are noticeable: in l. 7^a, the auxiliary verb 'let' alliterates in the presence of the subst. 'handon' in the same half-line; in l. 127^b the verb 'stihte' alliterates in preference to *Byrhtnôð*. This is however rhetorically justifiable as is the alliteration of 'hogode' in l. 128^b. In l. 242^b, where, as already pointed out, the second part of a compound alliterates, the subordination of verb to substantive is not adhered to by the alliteration „*āðrēðe his angin*".

¹ cf. ll. 26 and 27 where adverb follows verb.

² In ll. 26, 27, 223, 262, a finite verb alliterates in preference to the following adverb. As the first of two finite verbs in the half-line, the verbs in ll. 23, 25, 297, 326 alliterate. In ll. 215, 253 a finite verb alliterates on the second and first rime-letters respectively, in two-fold alliteration. Cf. Kluge P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. IX p. 448.

In two cases, the author of Judith alliterates an adverb following its verb:

132^b. Eodon *dā gegnum þanonne*

250^b. hogedon *áninga*.

In the treatment of adverbs, the most remarkable usage is the alliteration and accentuation of two having demonstrative pronominal stems:

118^b. *þæt hē ðonan môte*¹.

129^b. *þyder on lædde*.

Other adverbs with pronominal stems are never found bearing alliteration and chief stress; 'ðær-inne' (50) is significant. In other poems, we find variety in the use of 'ðonan' and 'ðyder', which is worth noting here, as unobserved by Rieger.

In Beowulf² 'ðonan' rarely (123, 691) alliterates, although occurring before its verb, and in other poems the only cases of alliteration, I have noticed, are Christ and Satan l. 722 and Elene l. 348³. On the other hand 'pider' more generally alliterates; in Beowulf always (379, 2971, 3086), also in Christ and Satan (302, 632)⁴. If we except the adverbs of place and time 'ær' and 'nū', other adverbs alliterate regularly, when they precede the verbs, that they modify.

The alliteration of pronouns in Judith is also noticeable. In l. 51^b 'hyne' has the chief rime-letter, so in l. 85^b 'mē' and in l. 66^b 'ðysse': in the following lines possessive pronouns have the chief stress, l. 90^b 'mīnra', l. 198^b 'mīne', l. 91^b 'pīnre' (its substantive does not occur till the following line)⁵, and in l. 85^a 'pīnre' alliterates, but only on the secondary rime-letter in twofold alliteration, and in l. 130^a 'hit' is the first word alliterating. Further 'sum' (275), 'nanne' (233) and 'æghwylc' (50, 166) have the chief stress. Like examples are found in almost all poems, but hardly in such numbers. The Battle of Maldon supplies an almost equally largely number; thus in l. 318 'mē' and 'mīnum', in l. 178 'pīn', in l. 234 'ure', 'æghwylc' and

¹ cf. l. 132^b above.

² cf. ll. 224, 520, 844, 853.

³ Cases of non-alliteration are: Christ and Satan 327, 635: Gen. 446, 493: Salomo 416 etc.

⁴ But cf. Dan. 228, 526. ⁵ cf. Beowulf 2742^b, 2743^a.

'ôperne', in l. 224 'mîn', in l. 70, the indefinite pronouns, 'ænig', 'ôprum', are all accentuated. 'Sylfra' has the chief-stress in l. 38, as often elewhere.

The poet of Judith consistently accentuates the prefix 'un' (65, 76, 102, 180, 228, 284, 318), thus using the original accent. In the Battle of Maldon¹, as in the Cynewulf poems there is variety, but in the majority of cases 'un' is accentuated. In Beowulf², it seems, there are only² two (1756, 2000) lines in which 'un' is certainly unaccentuated. Other prefixes are not accentuated.

At the end of this section, our result again is that Judith is not entirely at one with the older poems; where freedom was known to the old poets, our poet uses even greater freedom. The superiority to the Battle of Maldon is again clear, if we think only of the violations in that poem, of the rule concerning the accentuation of groups of nouns. As from an æsthetic point of view, so again from a purely formal one, our fragment is superior to those preserved wholly or in part under the titles of Christ and Satan.

The Chronicle poems are in most respects formally correct, but, if we except the Battle of Brunanburh, they are spiritless, poor productions. They all show a remarkably large number of word and phrase correspondences with other poems, so that they are rather compilations than original productions. Their authors were certainly monks and used the older poems for models.

Before closing our consideration of alliteration, some remarks on its Quality with not be out of place.

3. ALLITERATION — ITS QUALITY.

That any vowel sound may alliterate with any vowel sound, or in other words spiritus lenis with spiritus lenis: that a consonant in any combination may alliterate with the same consonant in any combination, if the combinations 'sp',

¹ cf. ll. 51, 206, 256, 308. In ll. 79, 152 the prefixes are certainly unaccented.

² cf. Rieger p. 18. Both of these lines belong to later portions of the Beowulf. Cf. ten Brink, Beowulf, Quellen und Forschungen, Heft 62, pp. 86, 115.

'st', 'sc' be excepted: these are the well-known laws for the quality of alliteration.

The combination 'sp' is not found in Judith. In ll. 25, 223, 227 'st' is the rime-combination; in the second of these 'str' alliterates with 'st + vowel', otherwise 'st + vowel' with 'st + vowel' ¹. L. 55 reads „*Snûde ða snoteran idese: eodon ðâ stercedferhde*:² thus 'sn' alliterates with 'st', reminding us of the line in the Chronicle³ (A. D. 942), in which „*Snotinga*“ and „*Standford*“ are the stressed words. This is the more remarkable, when we note that in other cases 'sn' only alliterates with 'sn' (125, 199) and 'sl' with 'sl' (247)⁴: in four lines 'sw' (80, 106, 240, 322) alliterates only with 'sw', but otherwise with 's + vowel' ⁵.

The Battle of Maldon affords one example of incorrect alliteration in 'st', viz 271. „*æfre embe stunde he sealde sume wunde*“, where 'st' alliterates with 's + vowel' ⁶. In l. 29 'sn' alliterates with 's + vowel'.

In dealing with 'sc' as with 'c' and 'g', the questions and theories that have arisen out of Verner's law have to be taken into consideration. Paul⁷ has, with almost complete certainty, shown that, there were no Mediae, but only voiced spirants in the primitive Germanic languages. These voiced spirants were shifted variously in North- and South-germanic languages, and in Old-English⁸ the entire shifting to Mediae

¹ cf. Cook lxvii. So B. of Maldon l. 68 and other poems.

² Cook classes the line under S^s, and says nothing about the irregularity. The MS reads *ste . . . | ferhde*. Ettmüller (Scôpas and Bôceras) reads „*snelferhde*“.

³ cf. Rieger 17.

⁴ Neither of these niceties of alliteration is to be observed in other poems: in Elene 'sn' occurs l. 313 as rime-combination, but otherwise 'sn' alliterates with s + vowel. These combinations are not found in B. of Maldon.

⁵ cf. 88, 89, 124. In B. of Maldon all 's' combinations alliterate only with their likes, 'sw' alliterates with 'sw' except in l. 282.

⁶ Rieger und Kluge take the line as an example of rime, without alliteration.

⁷ P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. I, p. 146 ff.

⁸ ten Brink Anglia Bd. I, p. 513.

took place only in the case of dentals; while in that of labials, it took place only initially and internally, and that when the 'stop' sound as in 'hebban' was doubled. The gutturals do not seem to have shifted at all, and ten Brink forcibly urges, that, because 'g' never signified a 'stop', the only way to represent the double Media was by combining the signs for tenuis and voiced spirant as in 'seġan'. Thus then, the guttural sounds known in the primitive German language, were a voiced spirant 'g', a smooth guttural 'k' and an unvoiced spirant 'h'. These Germanic sounds 'k' and 'g', became palatal sounds (\dot{c} , \dot{g} = y = j) before all vowels which were 'front' before mutation set in, but remained, before vowels, which were 'back' at the same period¹.

That the 'c' in the combination 'sc' was a palatal sound is evidenced by the almost regular insertion, in the later texts², of 'e' before the 'back' vowels 'a' 'o' 'u', and further by the forms found in Middle and Modern English.³ Sweet ascribes this to the influence of the forward sound 's'.

Judith tends to show the truth of this: in ll. 78⁴, 193, 230, 305, the sound of 'sc' is clearly palatal, as it is followed in every case by a front vowel: in l. 79 'scûrum' and 'sceâde' are the alliterating words. In Andreas (512) we find the word written 'sceôr': this together with the forms 'schour, shour'⁵, in Mid. E. and 'shower' in Mod. E. points, to a palatal sound, at all events towards the end of the O. E. period. In the Battle of Maldon⁶ also, all 'sc' sounds are palatal. On the other hand 'c', when used as rime-letter in Judith⁷, is almost invariably guttural, and = c^2 = k. The 'y' in 'cynning'

¹ cf. Sweet, *Hist. of Eng. Sounds* pp. 143, 147: ten Brink, *Anglia* Bd. I, p. 512.

² In the Epinal glossary, Vespasian Psalter, and early W. S. texts the 'e' is not found: — cf. Sweet, *Hist. of Eng. Sounds* p. 144.

³ With the one exception of Mod. E. *scathe* (O. E. *sceaðan*) all words, that appear in Grein with initial 'sc', and are preserved in Mod. E., have the initial sound 'sh'.

⁴ The 'y' in 'Scyppend' is a late form of 'ie', i-umlaut of 'ea' (*sceapan*).

⁵ cf. Chaucer, *Cant. Tales* (*passim*).

⁶ cf. ll. 40, 56, 98, 136.

⁷ cf. ll. 134, 155, 200, 235, 243, 311, 312, 324, 333.

is i-umlaut of 'u', cf. O.-Sax. *kuning*: so also 'y' in 'cyðed' (155) is from original 'u'. This stable 'y' is a back vowel. In l. 270 the pronunciation of 'cirman' is somewhat uncertain, but the metathesised form 'crimm', which is found in the Anglo-Saxon Glosses to Aldhelm's „*De Virginitate*“¹, seems to point to a guttural sound. Further, O. H. G. 'karmian' points to an original back sound in Germanic. The Mid. E. forms 'bichernet' (Owl and Nightingale 279) and 'chirme' (305), on the other hand, stand in evidence for the 'tsh' or palatal sound. That many words found in early texts written with palatalising 'e' or 'i' after 'c' were later written, and spoken without it, the later MSS. and Mid. E. forms prove with certainty. That there was a tendency to return to back 'c' is shown in such words as 'cāld', 'sēcan', 'pencan' etc.², and in the later poems the alliteration of palatal with guttural 'c' occurs very rarely. Thus, in the *Battle of Maldon*, the word 'ceorl' (256) has no part in the alliteration; in l. 76 'cēolan' seems to have a palatal sound, and the only other doubtful word is 'cellod'³ (283), which probably contains the same stem as the Mod. E. 'keeled'. In the Chronicle poems, with the exception of 'cild' (*Eadgar* 31), 'c' when alliterating is guttural⁴.

That the author of *Judith* was not careful to distinguish between 'back' and 'front g' (g, ġ), is at once clear from the fact that the 'I' sound in *Iūðith*⁵ (prob. = ġ) alliterates now with the one, now with the other, and once (l. 132) with both.

Excluding the nine lines, in which the word 'Iūðith' occurs, we find fourteen⁶ consistently rimed with 'back g', and in the remaining six⁷ there is confusion of one sound with the other.

¹ cf. Haupt, *Zeitschrift*, Bd. XI, p. 513.

² cf. Sweet, *Hist. of Eng. Sounds* p. 143.

³ cf. 'cellod bord' with 'escu votis' (*Huon de Bordeaux* l. 962). The parallelism was pointed out to me by Prof. W. Paton Ker.

⁴ 'cēas' (Edg. 22) is of course unaccented.

⁵ with g: — 123, 13, 40, 256, 334; with ġ: — 342, 144, 168. Cf. the allit. of *Jūðea* and *Jūðeas* in *Elene*.

⁶ 32, 224, 306, 329: 62, 83, 112, 140, 148, 171, 186, 219, 271, 308.

⁷ 2, 9, 22, 149, 238, 279.

It will be noticed that 'ġ' is in no case rime-letter.

Much stricter in this respect is the poet of the Battle of Maldon, for, two lines being excepted, *g* alliterates regularly with *g*, and *ġ* with *ġ*. In ll. 84 and 274 'ġ' is rime-letter: in 18 lines¹ 'g' is rime letter. The exceptional lines are

100. „*pær ongean gramum gearowe stōdon*“.

265. „*Him sê ġysel ongan geornlice fylstan*“.

In the Chronicle poems we find a like exactness but even there not without exceptions. In the Battle of Brunanburh there are two lines like those in the Battle of Maldon having three rime-letters, two of which are like 'g's' and the other unlike.

18. *ġarum āgeted, ġuma norðerna*

44. *geonge āt ġūðe; ġylpan ne þorfte.*

It will be noticed. that in each case, the first rime-letters in the first and second half-lines, alliterate exactly. It is of course possible to regard the others as not alliterating, though accented. That the sounds must have been clearly distinguished towards the end of the Old English period is shown by their exact distinction in Middle English.

The sound 'ġ' becomes *ȝ* (*j* sound) in Mid. E. and alliterates only with itself or the spiritus lenis.

Numerically, the lines with rime-letter 'ġ' only are more numerous in Judith than in Elene, Christ and Satan, or Salomo and Saturn: in all these poems the larger proportion of the lines shows mixture of 'g' and 'ġ'. As our poet confuses the two sounds in every case in which the 'ġ' sound is used, it is difficult to say, with certainty, whether the correctness in the other lines is not accidental. On the other hand the difficulty of alliterating only 'ġ's' with 'ġ's' is felt by the author of the Battle of Maldon, who in the vast majority of cases alliterates correctly. The comparative rarity of words with initial 'ġ' makes the difficulty, and a glance at Piers Plowman tells us that the words with the corresponding Mid. E. sound rarely alliterated. The formally correct Rime Song alliterates

¹ 13, 32, 35, 46, 61, 67, 87, 94, 109, 138, 170, 176, 187, 237, 262, 285, 287, 315.

'g' with 'g' in 4 lines¹, 'g' with 'g' in two², and in l. 36 the two together.

In the alliteration of 'h'³, which had in O. E. become a mere breath, our poet shows a like tendency to correctness: in the majority of cases 'h + vowel' alliterates with 'h + vowel', but in l. 251 'h + vowel' with 'hl'⁴, and in ll. 94, 290 'h + vowel' with 'hr'. In other cases the combinations 'hl', 'hr', 'hw' alliterate only with like combinations⁵. The weakening of 'h' was so great that in some cases it entirely disappeared, or, when written, does not seem to have been sounded: thus in l. 249 'weras' and 'hwearfum', in l. 314 réocende', 'hræw', 'rûm' are the alliterating words. In the Battle of Maldon 'hringas' (161) alliterates with 'réaf' and 'gerénod', and (145) 'hringlocan' with 'heortan'. The Latin H (Greek, 'spiritus asper')⁶ is usually mute in English, so in our poem, although the MS. gives the name 'Holofernus' uniformly with 'H', the alliteration requires it to be read with 'spiritus lenis'.

In quality of alliteration, as in its other uses, our poem shows differences from the prevailing usage in the older poems; these differences tend in the direction of what in the Mid. E. period became the rule, but are not so definite as those found in the later poems.

Of grammatical alliteration, there are three examples in Judith, of a very different type to that used by Cynewulf.

In Cynewulf they are almost invariably of the form 'cyninga cining' and have a rhetorical purpose, but in Judith they are probably used without conscious purpose.

191. leóhtne leóman.

196. gedēmed to deāde and gē dōm āgon.

In the Battle of Maldon this form is used much more frequently⁷, and with no further purpose than to maintain the

¹ ll. 3, 49, 66, 71.

² ll. 11, 25.

³ cf. Sweet, *Hist. of Eng. Sounds*, pp. 134, 135.

⁴ cf. B. of Maldon 74, 251, 318.

⁵ hl³. 23, 205: hr³. 282: hw². 214. cf. Cook p. lxxv.

⁶ cf. Elene, Hierusalem, Gerusalem or Jerusalem.

⁷ cf. ll. 4, 27, 39, 49, 63, 65, 72, 75, 121, 127, 137, 151, 155, 235, 302.

alliteration. Thus in ll. 27, 49 substantives and verbs of the same stem are used, and in l. 39 two forms of the same substantive. The repetition of the same words used in rapid enumeration is totally wanting in *Judith*, but is found once in the *Battle of Maldon* (270. hwilon hê on bord scêat, hwilon beorn têsde). Other examples are given by Rieger p. 17; the most numerous are found in the *Metra*.

Our poet then, while deviating here and there from the strict rules for alliteration, adheres on the whole to the best usage; in beauty of form, he is superior to the author of the *Battle of Maldon*.

With this we close our consideration of Alliteration, or Initial-rime, and proceed to examine the use of End-rime in comparison with other poems.

B. END-RIME.

Kluge¹ has pointed out that End-rime, of various kinds, is to be found in the earliest specimens of O. E. poetry, and finding that the number of rimes is greater in the later than in the earlier poems, he makes a large or small number of rimes a criterion for determining the time relations of one poem to another. In *Beowulf* the number of Suffix-rimes is very considerable: there are also at least 16 examples of pure stem-syllable rime, while the lines in which a stem-syllable rimes with an inflectional or suffixal syllable, having a secondary stress, are also numerous. In *Andreas* the number of rimes, and notably of stem-syllable rimes, is still greater, and a similar increase shows itself in the *Battle of Maldon* and *Judith*, till in *Layamon's Brut* about a third part of the whole number of lines are connected by rime. Kluge is thus led to the following order: *Beow.*-*Andr.*-*Byrhtn.*-*Jud.*-*Lay.* In deciding this order, the difference between Suffix and Stem-syllable rime has been to a certain extent considered, but we must further ask whether the rime serves any definite purpose, or

¹ Zur Geschichte des Reimes, P. und B. Beiträge Bd. IX, p. 422.

purposes, and this we can determine by observing whether it is consistently used to produce certain effects. This last will be a much more certain test of date than merely counting the examples.

Turning to the poem on the Death of Alfred in the Chronicle (ann. 1036), we see at once that the use of rime compensates for the loss of alliteration. Alliteration is found in none of the riming lines, but only in the non-riming lines (6, 9, 13, 15, 20). In Layamon too, rime frequently serves the same purpose, moreover, in many cases, the short sentences in which the Brut is written are connected by means of rime, and periods are closed and opened with rime.

In the Battle of Maldon three uses of rime are observable:

a) A riming couplet serves to close or to commence an episode: frequently when two following episodes are closely connected in subject the last line of the first rimes with the first of the second.

[Exx. are: 24^b, 25^b, 26^b: 67^b, 68^b: 82^b, 83^b: 89^b, 90^b: 98^b, 99^b, 100^b: 254^b, 255^b, 256^b: 305^b, 306^b, 307^b.]

b) The riming of the two halves of a long line serves almost invariably to mark events following one another in quick succession: occasionally, the riming of the halves of a long line closes an episode.

[Exx. are: 2^b, 3^{ab}: 4^{ab}: 18^{ab}: 19^{ab}: 42^{ab}: 47^{ab}: 130^b, 131^b: 309^{ab}.]

c) Riming of words in the same half line serves to mark the noise or rapid movement of the things spoken of. [Exx. are: 15^a: 107^a: 110^b: 126^b.]

The majority of the rimes in the Battle of Maldon are suffix-rimes; there are comparatively few stem-syllable and feminine rimes¹, thus making the consistent use of the suffix-rimes the more remarkable.

¹ Stem-syllable: 15^a bord, swurd: 47^{ab} ord, swurd: 107^a earn, georn: 110^b bord, ord (cf. Elene 1187): 126^b wæl, feol: [9^{ab} mihte, cniht: 132^b eorle ceorle are examples of riming of stems, but not of suffixes]. Feminine-rime: -ode 42^{ab}: 309^{ab}: -unde 271^{ab}. Assonances: 18^{ab} rædde, tæhte: 130^b, 131^b ahôf, stôp: 211^{ab} cwäd, apræc.

In Judith feminine rimes are more numerous, and purely suffix-rimes are less numerous than in the Battle of Maldon.

The following classification of the rimes in Judith will make our principles of rime-selection clear¹:

I. Masculine rimes:

a) Perfect (i. e. the vowels and consonants following are identical, and the syllables have either both a chief or both a secondary stress):

113^{ab} næs, wæs — is the only stem-syllable rime. The others are all suffix rimes: Exx. are: 4^{ab}: 85^{ab}: 163^b, 165^b: 201^{ab}: 238^{ab}: 285^a, 286^a: 299^b, 300^a etc.

b) Imperfect: (1). Consonances: 21^a earn-georn², 318^a bord-swyrd³.

(11). Difference of stress and of ending: 97^b, 98^a. môde, geniwôd: 294. læg, gesæged: 300^{ab}. gedysod, god.

II. Feminine rimes:

a) Perfect: 2^{ab} grunde, funde: 23^b hlynede, dynede: 29^{ab} sîne, wîne: 36^{ab} bedræste, gehlæste: 63^{ab} nēosan, forlēosan: 115^{ab} gewunden, gebunden: 123^{ab} gūde, ūde: 305^{ab} scæron, wæron: 349^b, 350^a strēamas, drēamas.

b) Imperfect: 20^{ab} rondwīgende, wende: 60^{ab} hyrde, gestýrde: 231^{ab} gecoste, eornoste: 271^{ab} poliende, ende.

These rimes in Judith are not used with the consistency shown in the Battle of Maldon. In fact it was impossible to combine the characteristic O. E. use of apposition, in which nouns and verbs of like cases and tenses follow one another, with a formal use, at all events, of suffix-rime. Here and there the use of rime gives force to the meaning: thus in l. 23 it indicates the laughter and revelry of Holofernes⁴. Similarly

¹ cf. Kluge, P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. IX, 444 p. and Cook p. LXIX.

² cf. Battle of Maldon, 107^a.

³ cf. Battle of Maldon 15^a.

⁴ cf. Elene (description of noise before battle): ll. 50, 51. þonne rand dynede, campwudu clynde.

intensification is expressed by the heaping of words in the same cases and tenses; ll. 163^b, 164: „wornum and hēapum; drēatum and drymmum þrungon and urnon; l. 115 „wyrnum bewunden, wītum gebunden“. Quickly following actions are marked by a similar device: l. 304 „linde hēowon, scildburh scæron“, l. 326^b „wāgon and læddon“. At the close of a period, or, as the connecting link between two closely related clauses, rime is much less seldom used than in the *Battle of Maldon* it is impossible to regard the use of it in the majority of cases as purposed or conscious. On the other hand, the riming of ‘strēamas’ and ‘drēamas’ (ll. 349^b, 350^a) is noticeable for its effectiveness (cf. p. 39): by this means a pause is made, and then follow the four words „þurh his sylfes miltse“ containing the teaching of the whole poem. A somewhat similar use of rime is to be found in l. 36: „bedreste — gehlæste“; on this follows a hemistich closing the sentence and at the same time repeating the thought of the immediately preceding lines with the words ‘hringum gehrodene’.

The two examples of sectional rime common to *Judith* and the *Battle of Maldon* afford a further contrast in usage. „Bord and brād swurd“ (B. of M. 15^a) — these words close the account of Eadric’s actions, while the line and a half following tell us why he so acted. The same words (*Jud.* 318^a) occur in the middle of a sentence, and the rime has no effect.

So again, *Battle of Maldon* 107^a: „earn æses georn“ makes a pause in the account of the various noises, and the closing words „wæs on eorþan cyrm“ sum up the whole. In *Judith* (210^a) „earn ætes georn“, the rime again has no particular meaning.

Thus then, although here and there our poet uses rime in full consciousness of its force, he does not observe the same consistency as the author of the *Battle of Maldon*.

These considerations, together with some already expressed, and others yet to follow, indicate that *Judith* is earlier than the *Battle of Maldon*.

The appended ¹ table, showing the number of rimes in 350 lines of each of the poems investigated, tells us that the mere number of rimes must not be too closely relied upon in determining relative dates.

Juliana and Christ would by that test be the two earliest extant English poems. Christ, in reality, is one of the earliest poems that shows a conscious artistic use of rime, as may be seen by reference to the effective antithetical rimes in l. 591—595, which Kluge explains as „ein Experiment, wodurch er sich eine strenge Reimtechnik anzueignen hoffte“.

At the same time our table shows us a marked difference between Judith and the Battle of Maldon on the one hand, and the Beowulf, Cædmonian and Cynewulfian poems on the other. All this tends to show that the use of rime grew gradually. It is possible that it was helped and influenced in its progress by the Celtic popular songs, snatches of which must have become familiar to the Germanic invaders. The Celtic metres were, in their turn, largely influenced by the Latin and especially by those made use of in the Latin Christian hymns².

1	Suffix-rimes.	Stem-syllable rimes.	Final consonant of stem-syllable + suffix rimes.	Total.
Beowulf (200—550) .	62	1 (rimes with in- flect. syll.)	3	66
Genesis (1—235, 852 —966) . .	70	4	1	75
Exodus (1—350) . .	59	—	2	61
Daniel (1—280, 690— 760) . . .	74	7	3	84
Christ and Satan (1—350). .	54	8	3	65
Christ (1—350) . . .	50	6	2	58
Elene (1—350) . . .	67	8	3	78
Juliana (1—350) . .	54	—	2	56
Andreas (1—350) . .	62	2	2	66
Judith	90	24	—	114
B. of Maldon . . .	104	12	—	116

² Thurneysen, *Revue Celtique*, Tome VI, p. 336.

To this latter influence we can ascribe such attempts at riming as are found in *Christ* (591—595), *Elene* (1237—1245). Such passages as these, and the *Rime Song*, the only O. E. poem in which rime is carried consistently through, stand apart from the development of sporadic rime, that reaches its height, during the O. E. period, in our poem, the *Battle of Maldon* and the *Chronicle* poem for 1036.

C. EXPANDED LINES.

The most distinctively metrical characteristic of our poem is the abundant use of 'Expanded Lines'. Among English scholars Guest has called them „Cædmon's longer rhythms“, and March „Long Narrative Verses“: German scholars use the terms „Streckverse“ and „Schwellverse“. The nearest English equivalent of the last has been chosen, as being the most significant.

Such lines are 'expanded' by prefixing to each hemistich a chief-stressed syllable, thus raising the number of chief stresses in each hemistich to three, and one or more either secondary or un-stressed syllables. In the first hemistich, this prefixed syllable should alliterate, but not in the second hemistich, in which the syllable having the chief-letter becomes the second chief-stressed, but remains the first, and only, rime-letter of the hemistich. These rules are violated in *Judith* at most three times. There are in all $65\frac{1}{2}$ ¹ expanded lines, consisting of 63 long lines and 5 hemistichs.

These three violations of rule are in first half-lines, and one of them is capable of another interpretation.

2^a in *ðys ginnan grunde* (cf. *Beow.* 168). Here the rime-letters are the initial sounds of the 2nd and 3rd stressed syllables if we read the line as above. There are two reasons for reading it so: — (1). The expanded lines in *Judith*, as elsewhere, are generally found in groups and the meaning here requires 2^a to be connected with the following lines. It is,

¹ 2—12; 16—21; 30—34; 54—61; 63—68; 88—95; 96^b—99; 132; 272, 273^a, 274^a; 289^b—291; 348—349, 350^b.

however, quite possible to begin the group with 2^b, as later in the poem groups of these lines are opened by 96^b, 289^b.

(2) If not an expanded line, but one with duosyllabic anacrusis, it stands quite alone in the poem, and is of a form but seldom¹ found in Beowulf.

9^a *gīrwan ūp swæsēndo*².

Here we have undoubtedly an expanded line with only one rime-letter, and that the first in the line.

90^a *geheāwen pysne mōrdres bryttan* (cf. El. 163).

In this line, the one rime-letter is the initial of the second chief-stressed syllable.

The irregular form of these lines in the Cynewulf poems is remarkable³. None are to be found in Juliana, in Elene only fifteen, and in Christ thirty-seven, thirty six of which occur between l. 800 and the end, i. e. in the third part.

Of the 15 lines in Elene, three first hemistich have only one rime-letter; it is the initial of the second chief-stressed syllable, in ll. 163, 582 and of the first in l. 610. Frequent inaccuracies are to be noted in Christ in these lines. Thus:

First Hemistich: (a) One rime-letter: initial of the first chief-stressed syllable, 1305: initial of the second chief-stressed syllable, 1378, 1410. (b) Two rime-letters: initial of the second and third chief-stressed syllables, 922, 1050, 1360, 1496, 1666.

Second Hemistich. Chief letter, initial of the first chief-stressed syllable: 1163, 1425, 1515.

Sievers shows that the authors of Guthlac (especially in the first part) and Andreas were also not exact in the form of these lines.

What we have especially to notice here is that in the poem „The Dream of the Holy Rood“, in which out of a total of 156 verses, 34 expanded lines are found, only one shows deviation from the regular form.

¹ cf. Sievers, P. u. B. Bd. X p. 273 (Typus A).

² Luick groups under $\angle \times | \angle \times \times$ i. e. *gīrwan ūp swæsēndo*: scarcely a possible interpretation. Sievers groups it under Typus C or D. C would be $\angle \times \angle | \angle | \angle \times$, I therefore prefer D.

³ cf. Sievers, P. u. B. Bd. XII p. 454 ff.

In l. 40^b (*gestâh he on gealgan hêahne*) of the Rood poem, the chief letter occurs as initial of the first chief-stressed syllable. In view of the question as to the authorship of this poem, this discrepancy from the usage in poems certainly Cynewulf's is worth noticing.

Of poems containing expanded lines ¹ of the type found in Judith, the Later Genesis is thus excluded, the Gnostic verses from the Exeter Codex contain the most (68 out of a total of 206 i. e. about 33 per cent). Many of these closely resemble in form and length, those which characterise the Later Genesis. In the Dream of the Rood the expanded lines are somewhat more numerous than in Judith², but in form and use there are distinct resemblances.

In the formal arrangement of rime-letters, as we have seen, both poems are very correct, more so than any other poem containing a large number of expanded lines.

The majority³ of these lines, in each poem, are expansions of the simplest form of line found in O. E. poetry, what Sievers classes as Typus A; in each poem examples of expansion by prefixing a chief-stressed and three or more secondary-or unstressed syllables are found, but by no means as often as in the Gnostic verses. Examples of these in Judith are: 68^a, 96^b, 99^b, 345^b, and in „The Dream of the Holy Rood“: 21^b, 33^a, 48^a, 64^a, 66^b.

The longest forms here found do not occur in Beowulf, Genesis, or Exodus, but in Daniel, where expanded-lines are more numerous. Some few examples are also found in Christ, Andreas and Guthlac. With such small evidence at hand as

¹ cf. Sievers, P. u. B. Bd. XII p. 454. Number of expanded lines. Gn. Ex. 68; Rood 34; Judith 65½; Daniel 49; Christ 37; Genesis 31½; Guthlac A. 29 (these in order of proportion); Elene 15; Ælfred's Metra 12½; Beowulf 10; Guthlac B. 10; Exodus 6; Christ and Satan 4; Wanderer and Seafarer, each 6; Hymns 4; Phönix 2. (P. u. B. Bd. XII p. 455 there is a misprint — „Daniel: 59—106“ instead of Daniel 59, 106.)

² The Dream of the Rood: 34 out of 156, i. e. about 21½ per cent; Judith 65½ out of 350, i. e. about 18½ per cent.

³ The foll. are the only exceptions in Judith: 274^a (Typus C); 11^a, 17^a, 19^a, 20^a, 33^a, 65^a, 272^a, 342^a (Typus D); 338^a, 343^b (Typus E).

the O. E. poems give us in regard to these lines, it is difficult to speak of a tendency, but on the whole these lines seem to tend to become longer. The absence of such lines in the oldest parts of the *Beowulf*¹, and in a poem like the *Battle of Maldon* seems to point to the conclusion that they were foreign to the real English Folk-song. These songs were accompanied with music of the 'gleo-beam', and thus, if the accompaniment were to be really harmonious, an occasional lengthening of the lines was impossible. In simple recitation, which was probably more used for religious poems², the expanded line would be introduced, but, as we have seen above, only occasionally, and not in its longer form. In the *Rood* poem and *Judith* the longer forms are scantily represented, in the *Gnomica* (Exon.) they are more numerous, in the lyrical poems, the *Seafarer*³ and, *Wanderer*, we find further examples, and, here and there, in the *Metra*.

In this tendency to lengthen, it is, of course, possible that the *Later Genesis* may have had some influence but it is scarcely demonstrable. A great many of the lines in the *Later Genesis* can be read with the normal number of chief stresses, but show a greater fullness in the use of unstressed syllables. The expansion of one half only of a long line occurs frequently, and, where the form requires three chief stresses, the rime-letters are, almost invariably⁴, correctly arranged. It is in this last particular that the form of expanded lines in the *Dream of the Holy Rood*, and in *Judith* is different from that in other poems, but at one with that in the *Later Genesis*.

¹ B. 1164—68 occurs in the portion describing the fight with Grendel's mother, and deals with the appearance of Walthew. Ten Brink (*Beowulf*, p. 69) takes the majority of these lines to be later additions. He bases his argument on other than metrical grounds. 1706—1708 also form part of the Grendel's mother incident. B. 2996, 7 occur in Wiglaf's speech, in the fourth Adventure, that with the Dragon.

With the exception of l. 1168 the rime-letters in these lines are correctly arranged.

² cf. ten Brink, *Gesch. der eng. Litt.* Bd. I pp. 59, 60.

³ cf. *Seafarer*: 103^b; 106—109; *Wanderer* 112^a; 113^b; 115^b. *Metra* XVII, 11; XXVI, 79.

⁴ I have noted the foll. exceptions: 256^b, 322^a, 625^a.

There is no evidence that the Later Genesis was known to the author of the Rood poem or of Judith, there is in fact, as Cook points out (Intro. XX), an almost total lack of verbal correspondences between Judith and the Later Genesis. On the other hand, the number of correspondences with the earlier Genesis is considerable. This clearly points to the conclusion that our author knew the Genesis before the interpolation of ll. 235—851 took place¹, and so was not influenced by the portion that must have been written considerably later than A. D. 825, which is the 'terminus a quo' assigned by Sievers² to the Heliand.

Thus, the form of these verses does not give us any very definite result as to date; we can formulate it as follows: — The expanded lines in Judith are more numerous than in any of the certainly oldest poems, and many of them are of the longer type which is found, though only occasionally, in later poems.

There is yet another question that naturally arises here. What is the force of these long lines, or, is there any connection between the form and the subject-matter? The question in its second form must be answered in the affirmative, for, if we collect all the expanded lines in Judith, and read them apart from the normal verses that connect them, we find in them all the leading events of the story. Thus:

In ll. 2^a—7^a the key-note of the whole poem is struck ✓ by the depiction of the full trust in God, and the consequent 'hand-protection' (mundbyrd) afforded by him. ✓ In ll. 7^b—12^b the preparation for the feast is ordered and the heroes come. Next (16—21) comes the description of the feast and revelry, how Holofernes deluged (drencte) his nobles, and himself with wine³. These are the events by which

¹ Ten Brink (Gesch. der eng. Litt. Bd. I p. 108) gives the 10th century as the date of the interpolation, but the later Genesis itself seems to belong to the latter part of the 9th century.

² Sievers, Heliand, Einleitung XXXVIII.

³ In this our poet differs forcibly from his source. In the apocryphal book 'Judith', chap. XII, 10 we read „in quarto die Holofernes fecit coenam servis suis“. The somewhat vague „servis“ is given by

✓ Judith's success is made possible. Holofernes is thus made the cause of his own destruction, as well as of that of his followers. In ll. 30—34 the culmination of the banquet in the ✓ death-like drunkenness of the officers and the approach of night are described. The last hemistich in this group tells us of the order of Holofernes, the man infected with iniquity (*nīða geblon-den*), to fetch Judith. Then follows a pause in the action, till again (54—61, 63—68) the long lines occur, and tell of the fulfilment of the order to bring Judith to the tent, which was just indicated in the previous group. Here again (59—61) the presence of the controlling, guiding hand of the Lord of hosts (*dūgeða Waldend*) is emphasised¹. „The baleful one went his bed to seek; it was there he should lose his life, forthwith, within one night; he had there to await his end, his end on earth, no fair one“; — thus the poet dramatically shadows for us the approaching crisis, which, it should be noticed, stands almost exactly in the middle of our fragment, so that exposition and dénouement are of like lengths. This passage leaves Holofernes in drunken sleep, alone with Judith, and then (88—94^a) we hear the words of earnest prayer by Judith, in the heaviness of her soul (*hige geōmor*), to the mighty Lord God (*mihtig Dryhten*). Help is granted her from heaven (94^a—95^b, 96^b, 97^a), and she, filled with new hope proceeds to her awful work (97^b—99)². Then (132) we learn of the departure of Judith and her maid. The

„ealle ðā yldestan ðegnas“, which includes all his chief officers. What is most noticeable is that, in the Apocryphal Judith, nothing is said about the drunkenness of the Officers, as making Judith's escape possible. There, the escape of Judith and her maid are made possible by the general leave she obtains to go out to pray; our poet makes their escape a possibility by the drunkenness. Chap. XIII, 2 „erant autem omnes fatigati a vino“ applies to the „servi“. Chap. XIII, 12 „Et exierunt duae, secundum consuetudinem suam, quasi ad orationem“ is the explanation of their escape.

¹ Immediately on this follows the defective l. 62. I am inclined to think it was originally a line of normal length, and formed a pause in the heated narrative. Of this more later, cf. p. 46.

² Especially noticeable is the use of lines of normal length to give the details of the murder.

next event of chief importance is the scene of confusion on the morning following the night of revel (272—274^a). The officers of the Assyrians gnash their teeth in wrath at the sudden surprise, and wish to rouse their ruler. „Here lies our chief, hewn with the sword, headless“ (289^b—290), are the final words of the one who dared to enter his lord's tent, and on them follows (290^b—291) the account of the confusion and flight. After this, comes the bringing home of spoil by the Hebrews, and the giving of earthly reward to Judith (338^a—342^a). For all this she praises the glorious Lord of Hosts, who bestowed honour on her because of her true faith (342^b—347^a). Finally the poets adds four lines in praise of the Creator of all. The rhyme pause in ll. 349^b, 350^a, which has been already noted (p. 31), is strengthened by the sudden change to the normal line. This sudden change emphasises and adds force to the concluding words — „through his own mercy“ (þurh his sylfes miltse).

v.
Tennyson
In these expanded lines then, lies the whole story, dramatically told, and doubtless intended to be delivered in recitative. The rest is Epic in its description of details, and has much the same functions as the chorus in a Greek tragedy.

In this Epic portion, (25—53) the fetching of Judith to the tent, and the tent itself, with the bed and its hangings, are described in full, so too (69—87) the approach of Holofernes and the seizing of the sword by Judith. The details of the murder, the return home, the wonderful description of the reception by the citizens of Bethulia, and the preparations for the fight, the fight itself, and its details are all related in verse that could be sung with musical accompaniment.

In no other poem are expanded lines used with such artistic effect and dramatic purpose. It is remarkable that with the exception of seven, all these lines¹ are in Oratio Obliqua; in most of the other poems the majority of the lines occurs in Oratio Recta. Two of the three passages in Beowulf are portions of speeches, so also the greater number of the

¹ Ll. 88—94^a; 289^b—291. The other passages in Oratio Recta are 83—88; 152^b—158^b; 177^a—198^b; 285—289^a.

lines in the Genesis¹, Christ and the Dream of the Holy Rood. Of this last, the greater part consists of what the poet heard the Holy Rood say to him in his dream, and here too expanded lines are used, to relate the main incidents of the story². Thus both in form and use we must acknowledge, in respect of expanded lines, a strong resemblance between Judith and the Dream of the Holy Rood. In Daniel too the use is similar. The expanded lines occur, for the most part, in the story of the casting of the youths into the fiery furnace, i. e. between l. 200 and l. 458. If with Balg³ we attribute ll. 280—410, and 422—27, which contain no expanded lines, to a later version and read the story without them, the whole becomes more powerful, and the effect of the longer verses approaches that in Judith. As far as vocabulary⁴, or phraseology⁵, is concerned, there is little in our poem to remind us of Daniel or of the Rood poem. Common characteristics in the use of expanded lines become, therefore, the more remarkable.

There is yet another characteristic common to our poem and the Dream of the Holy Rood, which is especially noticeable in expanded lines. The authors of both poems frequently close their sentences at the line-pause and begin new ones in the second hemistich with a finite verb. Examples of

¹ cf. Gen. 913, 1015—19, 1522—23, 2167—69, 2327, 2409, 2854—2858. Christ: 621, 1360, 1382—86, 1410, 1423—28, 1461^b, 1496, 1514.

² cf. 30—34; 39—43; 46—49; 59—65.

³ cf. Balg, *Der Dichter Caedmon und seine Werke*. Diss. Bonn 1882.

⁴ In common with Daniel, our poem (303) has the word 'here-pad', not found elsewhere, and also (56) the word 'hearra' (herra). This last is a characteristic word of the Later Genesis, where it has its origin in the O. Sax. herro (cf. Heliand).

⁵ *Dream of the Holy Rood*, l. 20^b „Eall ic wæs mid sorgum gedrêfed“ and l. 59^a „Sære ic wæs mid sorgum gedrêfed“:

cf. *Judith*, l. 88^a „swiðe mit sorgum gedrêfed“.

Dream of the Holy Rood, ll. 79, 80^a „þæt ic bealuwara weorc gebiden hæbbe, sârra sorga“:

cf. *Judith*, ll. 181, 182^a „þe us monna mæst morda gefræmede sârra sorga“.

this in the Dream of the Holy Rood are ll. 30, 33, 60, 61, 67; in Judith ll. 7, 34, 61, 67, 90, 253, 273.

In the expanded lines the line-pause must, of course, always be a syntactical one, as the chief-letter is the initial of the second chief stressed syllable. On the other hand the close of the line can be, and in Judith, with the two exceptions (2, 90) mentioned above, always is indicated by the appearance of a fresh rime-letter. Thus, while all the heavier syntactical pauses are found at the line-pause, our poet in tasteful variety uses 'enjambement', or a minor syntactical pause, at the close of the line. This last is occasioned by the introduction of an appositional phrase forming a hemistich (cf. ll. 16, 17; 19, 20; 57, 58; 60, 61).

The intensity of 'enjambement' does not vary so much as in modern English poetry, but is used with considerable skill by our poet. Twice he separates, by line-ending, attributes from their substantives, but both attributes and substantives alliterate. Thus ll. 55, 56 „*ædon ðā stercedferðe || hæled*“; and ll. 91, 92 „*nāhte ic þînre¹ nāfre || miltse þon mārān þearfe*“ | . The portions of sentences divided by the end of the line almost invariably fill hemistichs; only once (59)² is a minor syntactical pause noticeable within the first hemistich, and this is caused by the separation of an Infinitive from its finite verb, while the remainder of the hemistich is filled by an appositional phrase. Here too a special rhetorical effect is purposed and gained, the wish of the poet being to emphasise the controlling hand of the 'Judge of Glory'.

By these means the expanded lines, while gaining an effect different to the others, never burden or weary the ear. The author of the Dream of the Holy Rood occasionally uses 'enjambement' in this way, but burdens his lines by a too frequent use of syntactical pauses. The author of Daniel who

¹ The alliteration of 'þînre' has been already noted (p. 21); it is peculiarly effective in this stirring prayer to God, and reminds us of the modern stressing of 'Thy', in „Thy will be done“ and of 'my' in „oh my luvē is like a red rose. A comparison of ll. 91, 92 with ll. 3, 4 shows how 'þînre' corresponds exactly, in the poet's thought to „*þæs hēhstan Dēman*“.

² „*Ne wolde þæt wuldres Dēma, geðafian þrymmes Hyrde*“.

rarely uses 'enjambement', and then with but little skill, does the same.

The result, that we thus obtain is, that of all poems in which the particular form of line, which we have been considering, occurs, it is used with the most artistic effect and purpose in *Judith*. In this our poem shows strong resemblances with that of the *Dream of the Holy Rood*.

From the considerations above, and from others which show our poem to belong to post *Cynewulfian* time, we may, with reasonable certainty, conclude that the *Dream of the Holy Rood* was known to our poet, and to a certain extent served as his model for the use of expanded lines.

D. METRICAL MISCELLANEA.

In the previous section we have treated with considerable fulness the form and use of the 'expanded lines'; there yet remain several points of importance, bearing especially on the lines of normal length, which were not elsewhere in place, and which for proportion's sake are best grouped together.

In connection with what we have said above on line-pause, and line-close in expanded lines, let us glance at our poet's usage in lines of the ordinary forms. Here, as the chief letter is the first chief-stressed in the second hemistich, he makes frequent use of alliteration alone to indicate line pause (cf. 24, 25, 26, 29, 35 etc.); in other cases (39, 69, 86, 101) the pause is marked both by syntactical form and by the rime-letter. Syntactical pauses are frequently only such as are caused by the introduction of an appositional phrase (cf. 101, 177, 279, 295, 321), but the heavier sentence-pauses also occur (cf. 195, 200, 225, 229). Where, by line-pause (159, 171), or by line-ending (173, 174; 278, 279; 293, 294), a substantive and its attribute are separated, both alliterate. The same pleasing variety, noticed in the expanded lines, is noticeable again in the ordinary ones. The heavier syntactical pauses occur both at the line-pause, and at the line ending. In the latter case, the poet almost invariably uses

'enjambement', thus never tiring the ear. He moreover counteracts the tendency to monotony to which his evident predilection¹ for writing groups of lines, of exactly the same type, might have led him. This kind of variety is much more effective than a continual variation in the type of line.

There are very few cases in which there can be any doubt as to the placing of the line-pause, or the line-ending, but these few must be noticed here.

Ettmüller. Sweet, Kluge, Cook print l. 49 thus: „mihte wlitān purh, wigena baldor“ with the comma after 'purh', thus pointing to the conclusion that the line-pause also falls after 'purh'.

Luick² places the pause after 'wlitān', thus making both hemistichs of an unusual form and disregarding the custom of the poet. 'Purh' is here adverbial, and modifies the verb 'wlitān' so that the syntactical pause falls after 'purh'. Luick scans the second hemistich („purh wigena baldor“) $\times | \text{ } \times \times | \text{ } \times$ i. e. a half-line of Typus A, with monosyllabic anacrusis, a form seldom certainly found in Beowulf³, and only twice (176^b, 258^a) in Judith, in neither of which cases is the first stressed syllable resolved. Again Luick scans the first hemistich („mihte wlitān“) thus: $\text{ } \times | \text{ } \times \times$ i. e. it belongs to Typus A, with alliteration only in the second stressed syllable. Of this there are at most six examples in Beowulf⁴, and no certain example in Judith. Luick gives l. 158^a as the only other example; this should surely be read 'pāra lāddā þe' | .

If we pause after 'purh', the whole line may be scanned thus, according to Sievers' principles: $\times \times \text{ } \times \text{ } \times | \text{ } \times \times \text{ } \times \text{ } \times$. The first hemistich, then, belongs to Typus B of which there are

¹ It is sufficient to note this here. Luick (P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. XI, p. 490) has collected the lines of similar types, and Cook (LXXI) emphasises the point, by remarking the occurrence of groups of lines containing the same rime-letter, and also of groups having only one alliterative syllable in the first hemistich.

² P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. XI, pp. 472, 480.

³ P. und B. Beiträge Bd. X, p. 234.

⁴ Ib. p. 284.

eleven¹ other examples, in Judith, exactly similar in form, and the second hemistich to Typus A; of which our poem has six examples².

The earlier editors differ from the later in the division of lines 99^b, 100^a: „teāh hyne folmum wið hyre weard || bysmerlice“ is the division of Sweet, Kluge, and Cook, the hemistich 99^b being an expanded one: Thorpe and Ettmüller end line 99 after ‘folmum’, thus disregarding the law for ‘chief-letter’, and add the three following words to line 100. Both Sievers and Luick scan the line as the later editors print. Sievers, in agreement with Grein, inserts before ‘folmum’ the word ‘mid’ which is not found in the MS. It is however quite in accordance with the usage of our poet, as we shall later see, to use the simple Instrumental without ‘mid’. We must therefore read the line as printed by Sweet, Kluge and Cook.

About the division of ll. 87^b, 88^a; 184^b, 185^a; 317^b, 318^a, there can be no doubt on purely metrical grounds, and all the later editors are agreed³. From the scansion given below, it is clear that, in the first and third cases the lines would be too long, and, in the second, we should have a hemistich with only one chief-stressed syllable, if we read the lines as Thorpe and Ettmüller print them.

Luick has shown by his metrical analysis of Judith, on exactly the same lines as that of Beowulf by Sievers, that for the most part the two are in agreement. The chief difference lies, of course, in the use of expanded lines, but next to that the most general metrical characteristic of our poem as contrasted with Beowulf, is the absence of the more complicated metrical forms. In my interpretation of the

¹ 83, 110, 121, 151, 161, 171, 181, 204, 240, 260, 283. Cf. Luick.

² 62, 129, 148, 204, 299, 303. Cf. Luick.

³ 87^b and hīge geðmor, || swýðe mid sǫrgum gedréfed.

Thorpe and Ettmüller place line-end after swýðe.

184^b þæt hē mid læddum ūs || ēglan mōste.

Thorpe divides after læddum.

317^b hýrsta sǫfne || bōrd and brād swýrd.

Thorpe and Ettmüller divide after bord.

expanded lines I have followed Sievers rather than Luick. According to the latter, the expansion in the second hemistich consists merely in the addition of unstressed syllables, while in the first hemistich an extra stressed syllable is added. As I differ from Luick in this respect, and also with regard to the place of the line-pause in l. 49, I find only two second hemistichs (176, 258) of typus A with anacrusis, and in both cases it is monosyllabic.

More noticeable than this variation, if variation it may be called, for the proportion of these lines in *Beowulf* and *Judith* is thus about the same, are the numerous cases in which our poet places a chief stress on what is usually a secondarily stressed syllable. Examples in the second hemistich are:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----|-------------------|
| 73 | pā wæs Nērgēdes. | 108 | slôh đā ēornōste. |
| 178 | on đæs lādēstan. | 231 | slōgon ēornōste. |
| 250 | hogedon āninga. | 283 | to đām wiggendum. |
| 315 | on đām lādēstan. | | |

And further in two lines containing proper names:

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-----|----------------|
| 40 | pær hē Iūđith ¹ . | 218 | syddan Ēbrēas. |
|----|------------------------------|-----|----------------|

Again, in the first hemistich: 334 purh Iūđithe (cf. 40).
Further.

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-----|----------------|
| 127 | on đām fætelse. | 172 | hyre pīnenne. |
| 143 | in đām fæstenne. | 251 | hyra hlāforde. |
| 270 | ongunnon cōhhettan. | | |

Thus in our poem this usage is more frequent in the second hemistich than in the first. Whereas in the whole *Beowulf*

¹ The nom. case of *Iudith* is invariably accented thus: Iūđith, cf. ll. 13, 123, 132, 144 (read Iūđith), 168, 256, 342.

About other proper names the metre and alliteration tells us: (1) that 'H' in 'Hóloférnus' is silent, and that it was so accented — cf. ll. 21, 46, 180 etc. (2) *Béthúliam* (l. 138, 327), always forming an hemistich, is probably to be thus accented 'Béthúlia', cf. *Béthánia* Chr. 456 (Rieger p. 55). (3) *Ássíria* cf. Gen. 232. (4) *Ebreisce* (241, 306) or rather *Ebrēsce* as in El. 559 (*weras Ebrēsce*) must be accented *Ebrēsce*: thus l. 241 and 306 will be of Sievers Typus E (*weras Ēbrēsce: gūman Ēbrēsce*).

there are only seven such second hemistichs, our poem in 350 lines has nine. In the Cynewulfian poems, I have noticed numerous examples both in the first and second hemistichs, but in the Battle of Maldon only one (71 äschere), and none at all in the Chronicle poems.

From the rarity in Beowulf of hemistichs of the form $\frac{L}{\text{e}} | \text{e} \text{ u} \text{ i} \text{ x}$, and the frequent occurrence of case-forms of the proper name 'Hygelac' in such lines, Sievers thinks to find an indication pointing to a Northumbrian original for the Beowulf epos. The fact that there are only three such hemistichs (180^b, 303^b, 316^a) in our poem, confirms ten Brink's conclusion¹ that their rarity is due to the natural prosody of the language, so that we can make no use of this test of Sievers.

Before closing the metrical part of this treatise, the lines which are metrically deficient must be considered:

62^a gâlferhð² gumena drêate.

The probability of this being properly a line of normal length has been already noted on p. 38; the form in which it is preserved in the MS., as well as the stylistic effect, make this probable. By the introduction of an ordinary line a pause is made in the sequence of expanded lines and thus the effect of the immediately following group is heightened. A similar pause is to be observed in l. 96^a. From observing the tendency to group lines with a like number of alliterative letters, Cook urges that here „at least one word, and that alliterative“, followed „gâlferhð“. As the lines immediately preceding and following are expanded, and therefore necessarily have two rime-letters in the first hemistich, this, in the light of line 96^a, is hardly necessary. An indication of the kind of word that has been lost is found, by observing other similar pas-

¹ cf. Beowulf, p. 215.

² Luick and Körner both adopt Grein's reading „gâlferhð cyning“, which is not very suitable.

James Mercer Garnett (Elene, Judith etc. Boston, 1869), in a foot-note to his translation, suggests „gûðfreca“.

sages in our poem. From two similar passages we can fairly conclude that an adjective has been lost, and, at the same time, it is certain that two adjectives connected by 'and' almost invariably alliterate¹. If we place the three passages together, the similarity is striking:

- 61^b Gewât ðā se deōfulcunda,
 gālferhð gumena ðræte².
 25 hū se stīðmōða styrmde and gylede,
 mōdig and medugāl
 256 and se gālmōða,
 egesfull and āfor.

Arguing from these, an adjective, with an initial 'g' sound and with a signification like to that of 'gālferhð', must be here supplied. The metre allows a word of one or two syllables. I therefore suggest that the line should be read as follows:

- 62 gālferhð and grædig gumena ðræte.

'Grædig' = lat. cupidus i. e. wantonly greedy. From the manner of our poet, I believe that this, or an emendation of like nature, is to be made.

In l. 249^a „weras [wêrig-] fehrðe“, the prefixing of „wêrig“ by Grein, followed by Körner, is required by the metre and alliteration; at the same time it is suitable to the passage, and sanctioned by l. 291^b „gewitan him wêrigferhðe“.

Lines 287 and 288 present greater difficulties. Grein, Cook and Körner print as follows:

- 287 [nû] mid nīðum nēah gedrunge,
 þe wē [līfe] sculon losian sōmod,
 æt sæcce forweorðan:

Here the main emendation is before 'sculon' as indicated by the MS., and 'life' seems to me the best hitherto suggested; but if we observe our poet's use of 'nû' in ll. 92, 186 it is hardly possible to think he wrote 'nû' in l. 287, thus making it a chief-stressed and alliterative word.

L. 906 in Guthlac [þurh nýðgedāl nēah geþrunge] suggests the following reading:

¹ cf. 107 „druncen and dolhwund“.

² Kluge (Lesebuch) prints thus „gālferhð gumena ðræte — —“ indicating that the defect is in the second hemistich.

II. LANGUAGE.

A. PHONETICS.

The MS. of our poem (Cotton. Vitellius A. XV) is that in which the Beowulf is preserved. The Judith follows immediately on the conclusion of the Beowulf, being written by the same hand that wrote the latter part (l. 1939^b-end) of that poem. The orthography in the first and second parts of the MS. of the Beowulf is different in several respects, the most notable of which is the use of 'iô' in the second part, where 'eô' is found in the first.

Now 'iô' in place of 'eô' is found in no case in Judith, so it is clear, as ten Brink (Beowulf, p. 238) points out, that the orthography is not due to a peculiarity of the scribe, but to his copy. The second scribe of the Beowulf was, then, truer to his original than the first, and thus we may infer that he transcribed the Judith with a like fidelity. Our MS. is therefore a copy from a West Saxon original.

This however does not lead us far; we have yet to see whether there are forms in the MS. indicating that our poem was at some time transcribed into West Saxon, from an original in another dialect. Such forms there are; they are few in number, but all point to an Anglian original. They may be divided into two main groups:

1. DIALECTICAL VOWEL SOUNDS.

Of this group, the most important and significant form is the Anglian 'pêgon' (l. 19), of which the West Saxon form would be 'pægon'.

The mixture¹ of forms with and without 'breaking'

¹ Thus we find: — aldre (120, 348), but ealdor (185), ealdre (76): waldend (5, 61), but gewealdan (103). Other examples of non-breaking are: — alwalda (84), baldor (9, 32, 49, 339), and wald (206).

before 'l-combinations' is remarkable. Absence of 'breaking' before 'l-combinations' is Anglian for all periods, and becomes a distinctive Anglian characteristic towards the end of the O. E. period.

There is careful distinction, throughout the poem, between 'ea' and 'eo'; e. g. 'bearn' and 'beorn' are in no case confused. If the original had been Northumbrian, confusion might easily have taken place.

The forms 'hêhsta', l. 4 (but cf. hÿhsta, l. 309) and 'nêhsta', l. 73, although closely resembling the Anglian 'hêst' and 'nêst', are common in Late West Saxon, and cannot therefore be used as evidence of a Northern original¹.

2. SYNCOPATED AND UNSYNCOPATED FORMS.

Sievers (P. u. B. Beiträge, Bd. X, p. 459) has shown that, in all passages where a decision is possible, the metre in Beowulf requires the syncopation of all middle un-protected vowels after a long stem-syllable, and has pointed out that non-syncopation is a sign of lateness.

If this test be applied to our poem, we find again that mixture of forms and tendencies that has characterised our results hitherto. The majority of the unsyncopated forms² must be syncopated for the sake of the metre, but in two cases (229^a, 245^a) the full forms must be retained. In these two lines, the unsyncopated forms are different cases of the same compound, viz. 'medowêrige', 'medowêrigum' which in each case form a hemistich³. Similarly in the Battle of Maldon⁴ we find a mixture of syncopated and unsyncopated forms.

Of words with short stem-syllables, the MS. gives syncopated forms of 'ofstum' (10, 35, 70) where we should more correctly read 'ofestum'. Luick (P. u. B. Bd. XI, p. 491) reads 'gyfðe' (157^b), because it is unusual to have a hemistich

¹ cf. Cook p. XV.

² l. 35^a êadgan; l. 52^b môdga; ll. 98^b, 110^a hæðnan; ll. 160, 203 hâlge, hâlgan; l. 195^b ðwre; l. 345^a wuldre.

³ cf. Exodus p. 50^a.

⁴ cf. ll. 57^a, 109^a.

of 'Typus C' with a resolved accented syllable in the second place only. This is of course insufficient ground for altering the MS. reading. Why does he not syncopate in line 138^b also?

As a further result of his thorough metrical and dialectical studies, Sievers has formulated the following rule regarding syncopated and unsyncopated forms of long — stemmed verbs belonging to the strong and first weak conjugation (Ind. Mood. 2nd and 3rd pers. sing.), and of past participles of weak verbs of the first class, having stems ending in dentals: — »alle gedichte, welche sich ausschliesslich der längeren formen bedienen, sind anglischen ursprungs, und umgekehrt weist das vorkommen einsilbiger formen mit sicherheit auf entstehung im süden (sächsisch oder kentisch) hin.«

There are but few verbs in the third person singular in Judith, but 'séced' (96) is an example of an unsyncopated form.

Again, Sievers shows (p. 471) that the forms 'hæfst' and 'hæfd' only occur with other southern ones, while 'hafad' is the form used exclusively in the Anglian dialects.

'Hafad' occurs in Judith l. 197.

Anglian again are the past participles in ll. 87^a (onhæted), 116^a (gehæfted), 155^b (gecýðed), 167^b (ârêted). The last line is the only one in which a long form is actually required by the Metre, but the three others would become lines of rarer types if they were syncopated. There are no participles of certainly southern form.

We have then in our MS., though for the most part West Saxon, several forms that are distinctly characteristic of the Anglian dialects, and which therefore point to an Anglian home for the author of Judith.

3. USE OF 'a' AND 'q' BEFORE NASALS.

Möller¹, in his review of ten Brink's Beowulf studies, has laid considerable stress on the various uses of 'a' and 'q' before nasals, and has drawn wide-reaching conclusions from them.

¹ Englische Studien. Bd. XIII, p. 247.

It would take us too far beyond our subject to enquire what his results are and how far they are justified; the point demands our attention mainly because the writer of the latter part of the *Beowulf* in the Cotton MS. also wrote the *Judith*, and further because a simple statement of the use of 'a' and 'q' before nasals in *Judith* may help in deciding whether such use is arbitrary or not.

As Möller excludes 'pone, ponne', the adjective 'from' (occurs in comps. 41, 220, 302), and the preposition and prefix 'on', we shall do the same. The following arrangement on spaced lines, shows how 'a' and 'q' are grouped. The totals are 'a', 29, and 'q', 32.

{ 'a':	16,	26,	38,	54,	77,	80,	81,	98(2).
{ 'q':	11,	13,	20,	34,	48,	52,	59,	77,
{ 'a':	101,	110,	132,	158,	172,			
{ 'q':	105,	118,	130,	131,	145,	153,	163,	181.
{ 'a':	188,	198,	200,	205,	206,	211,	219,	224,
							225,	226,
								235,
{ 'q':	185,	192,	193,					
{ 'a':	238,	281,	326,					347.
{ 'q':	255,	265,	269,	282,	288,			
				292,	295,	304,	315,	330,
								331,
								333,
								342,

From this we see that for the first 193 lines, 'a' and 'o' are used in closely following lines, and almost alternately.

With l. 198 begins a group of lines in which 'a' is used exclusively; from l. 255 — l. 269 'q' is used, in l. 281 is a single case of 'a', while from l. 282 — l. 315 'q' is again used exclusively.

If *Judith* were dissected into small enough pieces, it would be possible to argue, as Möller does for *Beowulf*, that the scribe made use of an 'a' and an 'q' copy.

But there is no reason to believe in two copies, and when we observe that the same word¹ is spelt with 'a' and 'q' in lines not far distant from one another, it only seems reasonable to conclude that the variations are due to an

¹ Thus we find: mann (98, 101, 235), mōnn (52, 181, 292, 330): rand - (188), rōnd - (11, 20): hand (198), hōnd (130): land (226), lōnd (315): đanc - (172), đōnc - (13, 105, 131, 145, 153, 265, 331, 342).

unsettled orthography, just as are those between 'o' and 'u' in Mid. English.

B. ACCIDENCE AND SYNTAX.

1. PRONOMINAL FORMS.

Under this head the use of 'sê, seô, þæt', and of the closely allied 'pis, pēos, pis' will first be dealt with, and then that of the possessive adjective-pronouns.

Lichtenheld's treatise¹, dealing with the use of the weak adjective, with and without a demonstrative prop, requires our careful attention, especially as Groth in his treatise on the O. E. Exodus (referred to on p. 3) has applied tests, drawn from Lichtenheld's results, not only very insufficiently, but, as we shall see, very inaccurately. Moreover, the very importance of the points raised by Lichtenheld makes them worthy of somewhat more careful consideration than Sarrazin² has given them, on either of the occasions he has seen fit to refer to them. Cook too, who writes (Introd. XXII) as if he knew Lichtenheld's tests only from Groth's application of them, comes to the conclusion that the article and instrumental tests lead to „directly contrary results“.

In relation to the demonstrative pronoun (sê, seô, þæt), Lichtenheld shows that its original demonstrative force is preserved in Beowulf in almost every case, but that in course of time this force was weakened, gradually approximating to that of the somewhat meaningless 'the' in Mod. English, a

¹ Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum. Bd. XVI, p. 355 ff.

² Cf. P. u. B. Beiträge Bd. XI, p. 177 f. and ten Brink's answer in his Beowulf Studies (p. 173 f.). Sarrazin practically repeats himself in Anglia, Bd. IX, p. 531, though here there is a misprint to add to the mystery, 'starken' being written for 'schwachen'. He writes: „Wenn Lichtenheld versucht hat, das fehlen des artikels und häufige vorkommen des starken adjectivs ohne artikel beim substantiv als zeichen besonderer altertümlichkeit geltend zu machen, so ist dagegen einzuwenden, dass die älteste prosa den bestimmten artikel schon ebenso reichlich verwendet als die spätere, und reicher als die gleichzeitige dichtung“. A glance through a few pages of Ælfrie's prose tells us this is not so. Cf. Cook, Introd. p. XXI.

natural result of this weakening being that the demonstrative pronoun, or the definite article as we now call it, became more and more used. Lichtenheld therefore argues that we can test the date of a poem by observing the usage of the definite article. In this connection he points out: — (a) The use of the article + weak adjective decreases, (b) The use of the weak adjective + substantive decreases, (c) The use of the article + weak adjective + substantive increases. It is clear that all these points must be taken into consideration, and further as the use of attributives depends on the style of a poet, and to some extent on his subject-matter, we must not be satisfied with a series of merely numerical statistics.

We shall now test Lichtenheld's results by applying them chiefly to Judith, and for the sake of comparison to some 350 lines of the First Adventure in Beowulf and to the Battle of Maldon. Further, by observing the cases in which our modern speech would use a definite article not found in Old English we shall be able to determine when an O. E. poet used or omitted it.

Let us first consider the cases of the adjective (weak or strong), used without a substantive, and with or without the definite article.

(a) Definite article + weak adjective: Of this combination Lichtenheld found in Beowulf 35 examples, in Genesis 28, and in Andreas 25; his investigation of these cases led him to the following results: — (1). The number of adjectives used in this combination is very small, and consists of such as are often used. (2). The combination is only applied to persons of importance, and the qualities indicated are of an honourable and lofty type.

Judith contains 23 examples, of which 16 are applied to Holofernes, 4 to Judith, 2 to God, and 1 to the wolf.¹ They are all in accord with the general principles laid down by Lichtenheld, but his exact rules require, as we should expect,

¹ *Holofernes*: ll. 20, 44, 68: 25: 28: 48, 100, 248: 52, 57, 61, 75, 76, 102, 256, 315. *Judith*: ll. 160, 171, 176, 256. *God*: ll. 7, 346. *Wolf*: l. 205.

to be expanded. Thus: — (1). The adjectives used in this combination are not limited to those of common occurrence¹, but include many that are rarely found; nor are they applied only to persons. In these respects the usage of our poet is at one with that of Cynewulf. (2). The adjectives indicate base as well as honourable and noble qualities.²

The number of examples in our poem is very large, and seems to contradict Lichtenheld's statement that the use of this combination diminishes. Relatively however it is quite true for our poem and serves to indicate its lateness. Thus, if we compare the number of examples of this combination with that of the combination 'Article + Weak Adjective + Substantive', we see at once that Lichtenheld's theory holds good. From this it is clear that these tests must be used very carefully, and not less so when comparison is drawn between our poem, the author of which loved to make his picture vivid with numerous attributes, and the Battle of Maldon³, in which attributes are very sparsely used.

We have yet to ask how this combination is used. From its nature, it must either closely follow or precede a substantival phrase or substantive indicating the person to whom the attribute is applied. Looking at the examples in Judith, we see that the majority are in the nominative case and stand in one of three places: (α) At the commencement of the sentence, immediately before the finite verb, and followed closely by an appositional phrase. This appositional phrase is invariably without an article, and either of the form 'strong adjective + substantive' (var. [strong adjective] + genitive + substantive)⁴ or 'strong adjective [+ strong adjective]'.⁵ (β) At the commencement and end of a complex sentence,

¹ Cf. Judith ll. 25 (sē stīðmōða), 28 (sē inwidda, see p. 72), 48 (sē bealofulla), 61 (sē dēofulunda), 76 (se unsýfra).

² Cf. ll. 48, 61, 76.

³ The combination 'def. art. + wk. adj.' occurs only three times in the Battle of Maldon, viz. ll. 155, 187, 273.

⁴ Cf. ll. 20, 21 : 28, 30 : 57, 58. The superlative is also used thus in ll. 315, 316.

⁵ Cf. ll. 25, 26 : 61, 62 : 256, 257.

with an explanatory phrase, so to speak, sandwiched between them and in apposition to both. Thus, l. 48. „þæt sê bealofulla . . . wigena baldor . . . nymða sê môdiga“, and similarly for oblique cases, l. 100. „þone bealofullan . . . lâðne mannan . . . ðæs unlæðan“. (γ) They stand alone at the beginning or end of a sentence, when it is absolutely clear from the context who is meant.¹ Of these (α) is the most common.

The article is invariably avoided in phrases standing in apposition to the combination, ‘article + weak adjective’. This is true alike for *Beowulf* and for our poem.

(b) *Weak adjective alone*: Examples of this are so few that Lichtenheld (p. 329) holds them for exceptions, or perhaps manuscript corruptions. The best explanation seems to be that the forms had really become substantives at the time we find them. In *Judith* there are three cases, viz. ‘ûrigfeðera’, ‘salowigpâda’, ‘hyrnednebbba’ in ll. 210, 211, 212, all of which are in apposition to ‘earn ætes georn’. It would have been contrary to the custom of our poet to have placed an article before any of those, no one of which has the first place in an appositional group.

He probably had in mind l. 29 of *Elene* „ûrigfeðera earn sang âhôf“ or the similar passage in *Genesis* (1983) „sang sê wanna fugel . . . deawigfeðera“. I believe that such passages were more or less formulæ for battle scenes, that originated at a time when the original meaning of the weak form was still known and used with consciousness. A glance at the battle-scene in the *Battle of Brunanburh* confirms this view, as well as that advanced on p. with regard to the relations between that poem and *Judith*. In the *Battle of Brunanburh* the two words ‘salowigpâdan’ and ‘hyrnednebban’ occur in the weak form without articles, just as in *Judith*, and presumably in accordance with older usage. The poet of the *Battle of Brunanburh* seems to have formed the adjective ‘hasupâd’ on the analogy of ‘salowigpâd’, for it is not found elsewhere; but he used it as an adjective in the combination ‘article + weak adjective + substantive’, placing the

¹ Cf. ll. 160, 171, 176, 256.

others, as he found them in Judith, in apposition without articles and substantives.

(c) Strong adjective used as a substantive: Foremost under this head are the participles in '-end', which although found both in the strong and weak form, are in most cases treated as substantives and therefore declined in the strong form. Of the 16 examples in Judith of the substantival use of the participle, only one has the article prefixed to it. The portion of Beowulf examined by me also gives but one example, and in the Battle of Maldon there is not one. The use of the article with the participle is then avoided. The reason is not far to seek. The conceptions are almost invariably general ones, and we shall see, when considering the use of substantives with and without the article, that it is always omitted before those expressing general conceptions.

The following groups comprehend all cases: (α) When the general conception expressed by the present participle, is used without emphatic relation to particular persons, it stands without demonstrative adjunct or appositional phrase.¹

(β) When the general conception is used in emphatic relation to particular persons, it is expressed either by means of determining appositional phrases or less frequently by a demonstrative.²

We have already touched on a large group of adjectives used substantively as standing in apposition to the combination 'article + weak adjective'. Just in the same way, the majority of the others stand in apposition to substantives or pronouns, but never first in an appositional group.³ They are also used indefinitely, and very frequently with indefinite pronouns or substantives denoting multitude.⁴

¹ Cf. Judith, ll. 82, 226, 315.

² Cf. l. 11 'rondwiggende' which stands in apposition to 'hê' representing „ealle ðā yldestan ðegnas“, and ll. 42, 69, 141, 159, 188, 226, 305, 312, 321. Examples with the article are rarer, thus in Judith only l. 283, in Beowulf ll. 9, 221.

³ Cf. ll. 11, 41, 98, 105, 131; and Beowulf ll. 195, 342, 376.

⁴ Cf. ll. 53, 199, 215, 225, 304.

Next we turn to consider the use of Substantives with qualifying words (adjectives or adjectival phrases) and with or without the definite article.

(a) Article + Weak Adjective + Substantive: Lichtenheld's results are so important that we must give them shortly. (1.) In every case the article form has either a weak or a strong demonstrative force. The latter is found in all the examples (21) in *Beowulf*, but the former, the weaker, is evident in *Genesis* (60 exx.) and in *Andreas* (30 exx.). (2.) As in the combination 'article + weak adjective', the number of adjectives is small, and consists of those that are often used. (3.) This combination is generally applied to persons, less generally to places and things, and the persons, places or things are of importance. The qualities signified by the adjectives are either such as belong naturally, or necessarily, to the persons or things, or such as lie as a matter of course in the meaning of the substantive to which they are applied. Such was probably the primary significance of the weak form for adjectives, which therefore originally had an independent existence. The article was then attached in order further to emphasise the weak form, and in course of time came to be regarded as a necessary prop to it, much as 'self' did to the personal pronoun when used reflexively. The examples in *Judith* are 29 in number and may be divided into the following groups: (α) Those with the adjective in the positive degree.¹ (β) Those with the adjective in one of the two degrees of comparison.² (γ) Those with adjectives which are always weak.³

Lichtenheld's results apply especially to the first of these groups. Reference to the lines quoted as examples shows that for the most part the pronoun has the weaker and later demonstrative force.

¹ *Judith*. ll. 35, 43, 55, 56; 58, 125, 137, 254, 260, 341. *Holofernes*. ll. 11, 98, 110. *Bethulia*. ll. 149, 203, 327. *God*. ll. 3, 347. *Holofernes' tent* ll. 43, 255. *Hell*. l. 121.

² *God* ll. 4, 94. *Thanes*. ll. 10, 242. *Holofernes*. ll. 178. Also ll. 4, 293, 309.

³ Cf. l. 12 (þý fêorðan dôgor).

Further it is very noticeable that all the expressions of this form are emphatic, and stand alone, giving the complete meaning without appositional phrases or extensions. This applies to all the examples in *Beowulf* (cf. ll. 713, 758, 813) and in *Judith*. In our poem these forms occur much more frequently than in *Beowulf*. Their rarity in the *Battle of Maldon* (there are but 3 cases: ll. 77, 151, 240) is due of course to the general scarcity of adjectival forms in the poem, and not to scarcity of article forms.

The combination 'article + genitive + substantive', where the 'article + substantive' agree, is used in *Judith*¹ with the same emphatic force as that of 'article + weak adjective + substantive', the genitive having adjectival functions, but is avoided in *Beowulf* and the *Battle of Maldon*.

(b) Strong adjective + Substantive and similar combinations: The examples in *Judith* (33 in number) may be divided into two classes. (1.) Those in the Nominative case, or in oblique cases not included in the second class.² All of these are used in apposition either to a substantive (128, 145 etc.), or to pronouns either expressed (17, 20, 135, 146 etc.) or contained in a preceding verb (55, 109, 148). (2.) Those governed by prepositions or adverbial phrases.³ These stand alone and denote time or place, thus — 161. 'ofer hēanne weall', 237 'ealle präge'.

In *Beowulf* and the *Battle of Maldon* the usage is a similar one, though somewhat freer in the first group, the combination being used not only in apposition, but also in sentences standing in very close connection with previous ones in which the substantive occurs.⁴

Closely allied to this combination in form and use are those of 'genitive + substantive' or 'adjective + genitive +

¹ cf. ll. 9, 32, 165, 254.

² cf. ll. 14, 17, 20, 55, 109, 128, 135, 145, 146, 148, 190, 198, 200, 207, etc. *Acc. case*: 72, 101, 246, 249, 265, 314, 334.

³ cf. ll. 28, 113, 156, 161.

⁴ *Beowulf*, ll. 219, 319, 725. *B. of Maldon*, ll. 4, 91, 98.

substantive'. They fall into the same two groups, and are used in exactly the same way¹.

(c) **Weak Adjective + Substantive**: The emphatic signification of the weak form of the adjective, together with the characteristic that the quality implied by it is one that naturally belongs to the substantive to which it is attached, has been already mentioned. But, to this combination Lichtenheld ascribes a wider use than to either of the other weak adjective combinations in *Beowulf* and in the oldest periods of the language. The combination, especially in phrases with prepositional or adverbial signification, seems to have become a formula, and thus, in later times, analogous phrases were formed without consideration of the original force of the weak adjective. This is illustrated (cf. *Zeitschrift f. d. A.* Bd. XVI p. 372 f.) chiefly by examples in the Instrumental case.

There is only one weak instrumental in *Judith*, that of an adjective in the comparative degree, viz. l. 80 'swīðran folme'. Of the two other examples in *Judith* of this combination, the adverbial phrase 'tô wīðan aldre' (80) is also found in *Andreas* (938, 1721)². The descriptive genitive 'lāðan cynnes' (310) seems to have been often used, being found in *Beowulf*, ll. 2008, 2354, and in *Genesis* l. 2548.

All these examples are in full accord with the theory propounded by Lichtenheld, but those in the *Battle of Maldon* are more difficult to explain. Lichtenheld explains the weak adjective in l. 319 'swā lēofan men' through the presence of 'swā', and of the other in l. 125 'on fægean men' by the suggestion that it is an 'altertümlich feste' combination. Both of these are dative cases. In the *Battle of Maldon* the termination 'um' has in several instances been weakened to 'on'. Is it not possible that these weak forms are due to Hearn, on whose print of the poem we have to rely, having perhaps read 'an' instead of 'on'?

¹ cf. *Judith*, ll. 5, 12, 21, 22, 30, 39, 49, 58, 59, 61, 66, 78 etc. *Beowulf*, ll. 194, 229, 259, 260, 271, 312: (freer use) 195, 225, 235 etc.

² cf. *Beowulf*, l. 933, 'tô wīðan fēore'.

There still remains the third part of our investigation into the use of the article, viz. that dealing with Substantives found with and without the article.

(a) *Article + substantive*. Lichtenheld classifies the article according to its force as follows: — (1.) All cases, in which it is followed by a relative or other explanatory clause. (2.) Those cases, in which it simply serves to indicate that the substantive, to which it is attached, has been mentioned before. (3.) Those in which it is used without reference to a conception already mentioned.

All the articles found in the first thousand lines of *Beowulf*, except four specially discussed by Lichtenheld (p. 342), belong to the first two of these groups, i. e. to those in which the demonstrative force is still strong. In *Judith*, if we except the articles used in mentioning God (4), the Wolf the accompaniment of battle (205), and the articles combined with weak adjectives or superlatives (12 : 4, 293, 309), all those hitherto dealt with belong either to the first or second group, the majority to the latter.

We shall now discuss the cases in which the article stands alone with the substantive, and first those in which a relative or explanatory clause follows.

The demonstrative force of the article in such cases was originally strong, but tends to become weak.

Thus, we find the combination to be a rare one in *Beowulf*¹ but much more frequent in *Judith*², and more so still in the *Battle of Maldon*³. Under this head, we include the articles in the phrase ‘*pæt word æcwæð*’ (*Jud.* 82, 151, 283). This phrase is invariably followed by the words of the speech, whereas the Instrumental ‘*wordum æcwæð*’ without article is used (l. 241) where the action of speech only is reported. The same nice distinction is made in *Beowulf*⁴, but

¹ cf. ll. 197, 369, 506.

² cf. ll. 40, 47, 119, 127, 158, 283, 347.

³ cf. ll. 14, 48, 83, 104, 148, 168, 174, 182, 187, 189, 196, 212, 227, 235, 272, 325.

⁴ cf. ll. 388 („gesage him *êac wordum*“) and 654, („*pæt word æcwæð*“).

not in the Battle of Maldon. In that poem the force of the demonstrative 'pæt' is less, and we find, the phrase „pæt word gecwæð“ and no speech following. There are two other cases in Judith, which belong under this head, viz. ll. 106, 110¹ in which the article with an explanatory 'him' fulfils the function of the possessive adjective-pronoun.

An investigation of all the examples quoted shows that the article is attached to a substantive, with following relative or explanatory clause, only when the conception is a special one. In Beowulf, as we have seen, the combination is a rare one and is emphatic, while in Judith and the Battle of Maldon it is more common and less emphatic.

To the second group, in which the articles serve to indicate that the conceptions expressed by the substantives to which they are attached have already been expressed, belong the majority of the examples still remaining. It is noticeable that the combination 'article + substantive' is not applied to any of the three 'dramatis personæ' in their active capacity, but to Holofernes when dead or when something is mentioned as belonging to him. The examples contain: (α) Those that have been directly mentioned before: none of these are under prepositional government.² (β) Those that have only been implied: these are all under prepositional government and many of them might almost be classed in the third group.³ The articles in all of these examples have the same force as the article in ordinary usage in Mod. English. The abundance of the cases in the Battle of Maldon as compared with Beowulf and Judith, confirms Lichten-

¹ L. 106, 'þone swēðran him' and l. 110 'him pæt hēafod'.

² cf. ll. 258, 259 (Holofernes): 143, 175, 176, 208, 236, 276, 332 (citizens, warriors etc.): 47, 126, 173, 239: 233, 294 (cf. the general expression in l. 309). *Beowulf*: cf. ll. 311, 330, 586, 646, 647, 661, 712, 738, 766, 771, 792. *Battle of Maldon*: cf. ll. 9, 10, 22, 72, 88, 89, 111, 121, 134, 136, 137, 138, 140, 146, 148, 160, 193, 202, 245, 277, 284, 286, 325.

³ cf. ll. 15, 70, 152, 162, 167, 295, 320, 276, 336. *Beowulf* cf. l. 647. *Battle of Maldon*: cf. ll. 28, 40, 82, 131, 136, 142, 154, 159, 163, 193, 268, 277, 278, 298, 300, 322, 323.

held's results, while it is at one with all our other results in making Judith earlier than the Battle of Maldon.

The third group of the combination 'article + substantive', containing those articles that stand with substantives representing notions not mentioned previously, still remains to be dealt with. Such can hardly be said to occur in Beowulf at all (cf. p. 61); in Judith¹ there are only a few, but in the Battle of Maldon² the number amounts to eighteen. Both Judith and the Battle of Maldon are fragments, so the comparison is entirely reasonable. Here again, then, the contrast between our poem and the Battle of Maldon, with regard to the use of the article, is most marked.

The cases in which a Substantive stands without an article, where we should use one in Modern English, are very numerous, but fall into four main groups:

(1.) When large masses of people, large spaces etc. are spoken of, even though well defined, the article is omitted.

(2.) Substantives of like nature with those in the first group, when standing in appositional groups, are without the article: occasionally one of the group, and that the first, has the article.

(3.) The article is never used with pure Instrumentals, but very generally when 'mid' occurs.

(4.) Proper names, except when emphatic, stand without the article.

After this somewhat lengthy and difficult investigation it will be well to collect the results.

I. Particular results, i. e. relating especially to the poems investigated. The Judith differs from the Beowulf in the frequent use of the combinations 'article + weak adjective' and 'article + weak adjective + substantive'. The latter from being very uncommon in Beowulf, has become the most ordinary combination for the weak adjective. The

¹ cf. ll. 204, 236, 307, 346, in which the expressions all denote a fixed time. cf. also ll. 111, 141, 143, 220, all of which refer to some definite place.

² cf. ll. 6, 8(2), 10, 63, 69, 74, 78, 81, 95, 102, 104, 139, 144, 193, 194, 199, 284.

force of the article is not so strongly demonstrative in Judith, but for the most part the use of these combinations in both poems is the same. The difference between Beowulf and the Battle of Maldon in the use of the article is great, that between Judith and the Battle of Maldon is considerably less, but very significant. In the latter the combinations 'article + weak adjective' and 'article + weak adjective + substantive', as well as the important figure of apposition, which has played so large a part in our investigations, are almost entirely wanting. The weaker, non-demonstrative force of the article has largely increased.

II. General results, i. e. in relation to the use and nonuse of the article. A. Its use: of this there are three subdivisions. The full demonstrative use, with a relative or determining clause following, is the first. To this belong some few of the group 'article + weak adjective + substantive', also those of the group 'article + genitive + substantive'. None of these are used in appositional clauses. The majority of those that belong to this division are substantives without adjectival appendage, to which the poet wishes to draw the attention of his reader or listener.

The weaker demonstrative use is the second, where the article is used to indicate that the notion conveyed by the substantive, to which it is attached, has been previously mentioned. To this division belong:

(α) Those used in the combination 'article + weak adjective', which it must be remembered stands, for the most part, first in an appositional group, none of the other members of which have an article.

(β) The majority of the articles found in the combination 'article + weak adjective + substantive', which invariably stand without appositional phrases.

(γ) A large number of articles used in the combination 'preposition + article + substantive'.

When the article forms have no demonstrative force and are simply used to define, they serve mainly to distinguish particular from general notions. This is a late usage and is found especially in the Battle of Maldon.

B. Its non-use: The article is omitted (α) in all appositional groups, except when the first member of the group is of the form 'article + weak adj.' or 'article + pres. part.' or more rarely 'article + substantive'. (β) When large masses of people etc. are spoken of. The other cases are detailed on p. 63.

The use of the demonstrative 'þis, þeos, þis' affords little occasion for remark. It has a strong demonstrative force and the phrases in which it is used stand in their own sufficiency without appositional additions.¹ In order to give at a glance the numbers of the various combinations, the accompanying table² is added. The counting of the number of articles without reference to the way in which they are combined and used, leads to no useful results; in fact numerical statistics are only useful as necessary accompaniments of any such investigation as that we have just made.

The difference in the use of the possessive adjective-pronoun in *Judith* and in the *Battle of Maldon* yet remains to be noticed. In the former it is comparatively seldom used, in all 19 times, but in the latter it is very frequently used (34 times), and sometimes where we should expect the definite article. This also helps to account for the discrepancy in the total usage of the definite article in the two poems.

The variety of forms for the possessive adjective pronoun is of interest. In *Judith* 'his',³ 'sîn'⁴ and 'him' with the definite article are used without distinction.

¹ cf. *Judith*, ll. 2, 90: 66, 89, 187. *Beowulf*, l. 197. *Battle of Maldon*, ll. 32, 45, 52, 298, 316.

2	art. + wk. adj.	art. + wk. adj. + subst.	art. + subst. class.			Total	þis, þeos, þis
			1.	2.	3.		
Beowulf. (350 lines)	10	3	3	15	0	31	1
Judith	22	29	14	24	8	97	5
Battle of Maldon	3	3	18	43	20	87	5

² cf. ll. 16, 31, 36, 63(2), 64, 68, 279, 281, 282, 350.

⁴ cf. ll. 29, 99, 132.

Originally the same distinction existed between 'sġn' and 'his' as between 'suus' and 'ejus'. In Beowulf 'sġn'¹ is only used where 'suus' could be; but 'his' is used to represent both 'suus' and 'ejus' and is more frequent. In Elene 'his' completely takes the place of 'sġn', which is seldom found in the other Cynewulfian poems.

We will now turn to a short consideration of the Instrumental case, especially in the light of Lichtenheld's results.

2. THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE.

Lichtenheld shows that when the combination 'adjective + substantive' occurs in the Instrumental Case, the weak form for the adjective is almost always found in Beowulf and very frequently in Genesis and Andreas. He adds further: — „Aus Byrhtnoð ist nicht ein einziges beispiel zu verzeichnen weder für die starke noch für die schwache form. Freilich umfasst das Gedicht nur 325 verse, aber es scheint doch, dass der instrumental hier überhaupt aufgegeben ist und die bedeutung desselben neben ihm überall vertretenden dativ besonders durch die präposition 'mid' umschrieben wird, die sich sehr oft in dem kurzen stücke findet. Aus den 195 versen der gedichte der Sachsenchronik gehört hierher nur der eine starke instrumental Æthelst. 34 'litlê weredê'.

In Judith there are only two instrumental cases of the form 'adjective + substantive' (ll. 80, 339); the first of these contains a weak adjective, ('swiðran folme', cf. p. 60) and the other a strong ('ræadum golde'). There are, in addition to these, 37 examples in Judith of the pure Instrumental case, and 12 of the Instrumental expressed by 'mid' with the dative. Thus, our poem combines the earlier and later usage in this respect also. On the other hand the Battle of Maldon has in the majority of cases the periphrastic Instrumental, almost confining the use of the pure Instrumental to the pleonastic 'wordum' or 'gylpwordum'.

In no respect then can Lichtenheld's tests be said to be at variance with one another, and when applied to our

¹ cf. ll. 1236, 1507, 1960, 1984, 2283, 2789.

poem, they lead to the same conclusions as our metrical investigations.

In both *Judith* and the *Battle of Maldon*, there is the older usage with a leaning towards the newer, but in our poem the older is more evident than in that describing the fight at Maldon.

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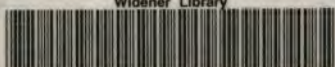
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